



*Life in a New England  
Town, 1787, 1788*

John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams



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*John Quincy Adams.*







LIFE <sup>c<sup>7</sup></sup>  
IN A NEW ENGLAND TOWN:  
1787, 1788.

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DIARY  
OF  
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,  
WHILE A STUDENT IN THE OFFICE OF THEOPHILUS PARSONS  
AT NEWBURYPORT.

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THE photogravure prefixed to this volume is from a portrait of J. Q. Adams, painted in London by J. S. Copley, in the spring of 1796, and sent by the artist in the early part of the following year as a present to John Adams and his wife. The original, belonging to C. F. Adams, is now (1903) on deposit in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The facsimile of Mr. Adams's signature is from a letter written a little more than a year after the portrait was painted.

Extracts from the diary which follows were read at the stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society in November, 1902, and excited much interest. It was afterward printed in the Proceedings of the Society; and it is now reprinted by their permission for wider circulation.

On the 31st of October, 1901, the First Congregational Church of Newburyport, Massachusetts, observed its one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary, and, also, the one hundredth anniversary of the dedication of its meeting-house.<sup>1</sup> The pastor of the Society, the Rev. Samuel C. Beane, D.D., invited me to take part in the ceremonies of the day on the ground that my grandfather, John Quincy Adams, "was for a few years in his youth an interested and active member of" the Society; and, while such, "he was in a great measure instrumental in obtaining the settlement of Rev. John Andrews, his young Old Colony friend, as minister [of the Church, in which] his family is still represented." Not feeling at liberty to decline an invitation thus extended, it occurred to me I could best improve the occasion by communicating to those gathered extracts from the diary John Quincy Adams kept during a portion of the period of his residence at Newburyport,—a student in the office of Theophilus Parsons, who, nineteen years later, succeeded Francis Dana as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The diary in question is contained in two small octavo volumes, bound in calf, bought in Paris, and entitled "Ephemeris." It is the record of a young law student's daily life, and, as such, was kept with more or less detail; but, unfortunately, it is not continuous, covering the whole of one year only (1787) and a portion of the year following. The first detailed entry relating to the

<sup>1</sup> A report of the speeches and proceedings on this occasion has since been published by order of the Society. In it are included about three printed pages of the following diary of J. Q. Adams. Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting House of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, October 31, 1901. Newburyport, 1902, pp. 61.

Newburyport experience is of August 9, 1787; the last of October 14, 1788. Mr. Adams's health then broke down, as the result probably of too severe application; for, in almost every entry immediately preceding his illness, he complains bitterly of insomnia, lying awake at times whole nights, and at other times getting sleep only through the use of opiates.

Though I found in this record much which greatly interested me, no use whatever was made of it by my father in his publication entitled "*Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*"; for it contains little of, so-called, historical value. It nevertheless gives a curious and graphic picture of social, every-day existence in a small Massachusetts seaport during the closing years of the eighteenth century. Its maturity of tone is perhaps its most noticeable feature; but, in reading it, it is well to bear constantly in mind that not only was the writer an exceptional character, but his experience had been so very unusual as to be even yet almost, if indeed not altogether, unique. Born and brought up as a boy in an eighteenth-century Massachusetts country town, in the midst of our revolutionary troubles, he accompanied his father to Europe, still lacking five months of his eleventh birthday, when, one February morning, the two took boat from the beach at Braintree, for the frigate "*Boston*," lying in the offing. Sent to school near Paris, he there became proficient in French. On this point we get an amusing as well as suggestive glimpse of him from the diary of John Adams, kept during the return from his first mission to France in 1779. At this time J. Q. Adams was not quite twelve years old. He had been in France some fourteen months, and was returning home with his father on the French frigate "*Sensible*," in company with La Luzerne, the commissioner from Louis XVI. to the Congress, and M. Marbois, the secretary of the commission. Writing when three days at sea, under date of Sunday, the 20th June, John Adams says: "The Chevalier de la Luzerne and M. Marbois are in raptures with my son. They get him to teach them the language. I found this morning the Ambassador seated on the cushion in our state-room, M. Marbois in his cot, at his left hand, and my son stretched out in his, at his right. The Ambassador reading out loud, in Blackstone's *Discourse* at his entrance on his Professorship of the

Common Law at the University, and my son correcting the pronunciation of every word and syllable and letter. The Ambassador said he was astonished at my son's knowledge; that he was a master of his own language, like a professor. M. Marbois said, Your son teaches us more than you; he has *point de grâce, point d'éloges*. He shows us no mercy, and makes us no compliments. We must have Mr. John."

Getting safely back to America and the Braintree environment early in August, 1779, about three months later John Adams again embarked for Europe, and again on the "Sensible"; this time accompanied by two of his sons, John Quincy and Charles, the latter only nine years old. They returned to France by way of Spain, and J. Q. Adams now remained six years in Europe; during which time, besides being at school and college, he associated in confidential capacities with men of distinction much older than himself, in Holland, Russia and France. He saw also a good deal of both Franklin and Jefferson, especially the latter, for whom he entertained a strong boyish admiration. At fourteen he was a student in the University of Leyden, of which institution he always afterwards spoke with deep affection. More than fifty years later, referring to this period, he wrote: "There is a character of romantic wildness about the memory of my travels in Europe from 1778 to 1785, which gives to it a tinge as if it was the recollection of something in another world. Life was new, everything was surprising, everything carried with it a deep interest. It is almost surprising to me now that I escaped from the fascination of Europe's attractions. . . . My return home from Auteuil, leaving my father when he was going upon his mission to England, decided the fate and fortunes of my after-life. It was my own choice, and the most judicious choice I ever made. My short discipline of fifteen months at Harvard University was the introduction to all the prosperity that has ever befallen me, and perhaps saved me from early ruin"; and afterwards (1840) when philosophizing in his diary, in extremely despondent mood, over his own life and the results thereof, he wrote again, it was to "Harvard College, Leyden University, seven years of youthful travel and the blessing of heaven" that he attributed whatever of useful it had been given to him to accomplish.



Graduating at Harvard, in 1787, the volumes of diary covering student life at Newburyport open immediately thereafter. From one of these volumes I made a number of extracts for use at the Newburyport church anniversary of 31st October; but these extracts proved far too voluminous to find a place in the printed report of what then occurred. Another portion I subsequently communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society at its November meeting, 1902. I then put the two volumes covering the Newburyport period in the hands of Mr. C. C. Smith, the editor of the Society, with permission to make such use of their contents as he saw fit. It was the daily record of a young man just out of college. Having passed the period between eleven and eighteen in a curiously diversified and roving life in the Europe of Louis XVI., Catherine II. and George III., he had then been suddenly transferred at his own volition to America, where at twenty he had graduated at Harvard. The salient features of his college days, as recorded in this diary, have already found their way into print.<sup>1</sup> The record of subsequent law-student life at Newburyport was thought by Mr. Smith to be of sufficient interest to justify reproduction in full in the volumes of Proceedings of the Historical Society. This publication resulted.

It is merely necessary to add that, between 1787 and 1790, Newburyport, a substantial seaport of some five thousand inhabitants, was largely engaged in commerce. As a community, it was made up of people — men and women — of the old New England type. While distinctly provincial, the place had not yet become suburban; it had an individuality. Socially, no less than commercially and financially, it was a local centre. The period was critical. The country had emerged from the revolutionary troubles only a few years before, and was still in the formative stage. The land was poor, and those dwelling in it were burdened by taxation. Hence the spirit of unrest was great; crude theories of money, government, and the rights of man were in the air, and it yet remained to be seen whether the people of Anglo-Saxon descent in America were to prove equal to the occasion and develop into a nationality, or whether, victims of a morbid jealousy of all centralized authority, they were to sink into a state of chronic anarchy.

<sup>1</sup> North American Review, vol. cxiv. pp. 110-147. Harvard College, 1786-1787. Henry Adams, *Historical Essays*, pp. 80-121.

Shays's Rebellion had broken out in Massachusetts only a few months before this diary opens; the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution was then sitting at Philadelphia; John Hancock was Governor of Massachusetts; but not for two years yet was Washington chosen President. In Europe, France was on the eve of the Revolution, and, on May 5, 1789, the States General met at Versailles; on the 14th of July following the Bastille was stormed; William Pitt was then Prime Minister of Great Britain; the trial of Warren Hastings was in progress; Frederick the Great had been only a twelvemonth dead; and the future Emperor of the French was hanging about Paris, an impecunious Lieutenant of Artillery, vainly seeking financial relief for his father from a bankrupt and sinking government. So far as the writer of the diary himself was concerned, his father had, in 1787, been eight years in Europe, and his mother and sister three years. In 1785 they had passed over from France to England, and since then John Adams had represented the Federation near the Court of St. James. During the period covered by his son's residence at Newburyport he returned to America to assume the duties of Vice-President in the first administration of Washington. Finally, at the time covered by this diary, Boston, not yet a city, numbered some eighteen thousand inhabitants, and Cambridge a little over two thousand. The town of Quincy had not yet been incorporated, but was still the North Precinct of Braintree, the birthplace of the writer of the diary. It numbered a population a little short of three thousand.

While some insignificant portions of the diary have been omitted either because the events recorded were too trivial or commonplace to merit publication, or because they related to matters of student life and intercourse now of interest to no one, the record is noticeably devoid of anything of a scandalous or prurient nature, or of allusions which the most sensitive of descendants would seek to suppress. In these respects it is throughout thoroughly healthy, as well as creditable to the writer.<sup>1</sup>

C. F. A.

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgment is here due to Miss J. C. Watts (Radcliffe, 1897) for assistance in the preparation of the notes. Thoroughly trained and indefatigable in research, she has succeeded in throwing a flood of light on people and events which had passed wholly out of living memory.

## DIARY.

August 9th, 1787.<sup>1</sup>

I breakfasted this morning with Mr. Andrews,<sup>2</sup> and after breakfast called upon Jack Forbes;<sup>3</sup> in their company I passed my time away

<sup>1</sup> Two entries of an earlier date are of interest in connection with J. Q. Adams's life in Newburyport:—

Sunday, June 10, 1787: " . . . Dined at Mr. Dana's, in company with Mr. Parsons of Newbury-Port; a man of great wit, as well as of sound judgment and deep learning."

June 23, 1787: "Mr. Cranch and Dr. Tufts came from Boston this afternoon—the doctor informs me that Mr. Parsons has agreed to receive me; and consequently I expect to go in August or September to Newbury-Port."

Francis Dana was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1785; Chief Justice in 1791. As Secretary of Legation, he had sailed from America with John Adams and his son in 1779; and when subsequently appointed to a mission at St. Petersburg, he took J. Q. Adams, a lad of fourteen, with him as his private secretary. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 10, 12.

March 10, 1787, J. Q. Adams wrote in his diary: "Soon after prayers I heard with equal grief and surprise that Judge Dana was seized with an apoplectic and paralytic fit, on Thursday in the forenoon: that his life was for some time despaired of, and that he is still in a very dangerous situation. To me he has been a second father, and his instructions, though too much neglected at the time when he gave them, have since been more attended to; and have at least check'd some of my failings, and were calculated to reform them entirely. I have therefore reason to revere him in a peculiar manner; but a man of his talents and virtues, filling one of the most important offices in the State, is precious to the whole Commonwealth; and should his disease prove fatal, his loss will not be easily repaired.

"11th. . . . in the evening I went down to Judge Dana's, but did not see him: the president [Willard] was there, stiff as ever. Mr. Dana had a second attack last night; but not so violent as the first: they have some hopes and many fears with respect to his recovery."

As respects Theophilus Parsons, compare the characterization by Daniel Webster in 1804, in F. Webster, *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, vol. i. p. 183.

Dr. Cotton Tufts, an erudite and public-spirited physician of Weymouth, was at this time in his fifty-seventh year. He had married Lucy Quincy, sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Q. Smith, maternal aunt of Mrs. Abigail Adams. When absent as minister to England, John Adams left his business affairs in the care of Dr.

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<sup>2</sup> John Andrews (II. C. 1786), a native of Hingham, then (1787) a student of Divinity at Cambridge; later pastor of the First Parish Church of Newburyport for over forty years; died August 17, 1845. See the histories of Newburyport.

<sup>3</sup> John Murray Forbes, classmate of J. Q. Adams. See *infra*, p. 53 note.

till near eleven o'clock. I then mounted, and after stopping a few minutes at Medford,<sup>1</sup> I proceeded, and at about two, arrived at the tavern in Wilmington; where I found my two brothers<sup>2</sup> who were returning from Haverhill, both of them much pleased with their tour. Between four and five we parted, they went towards Cambridge and I came on to Haverhill, where I arrived, at about eight in the evening. . . .

11th. This forenoon, I took a ride with Mr. Shaw,<sup>3</sup> to see my classmate Welch,<sup>4</sup> who lives about four miles from hence. After I return'd, I called in, at Mr. Bartlett's,<sup>5</sup> where I found Mr. and Mrs.

Tufts. Under date of June 2, 1786, he wrote to him: "A year will soon be about, and what are we to do then with John? What lawyer shall we desire to take him, in town or country? and what sum must be given with him? and what will his board and clothing cost? and where shall we get money to pay all these expenses? Shall I come home and take all my boys into my own office? I was once thought to have a tolerable knack at making lawyers, and now could save a large sum by it."

See John Adams, Works, vol. ix. pp. 548, 549, 556. See also Appleton, Cyclopædia of American Biography; J. Thacher, American Medical Biography, vol. ii. pp. 149-152; Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams (1848), pp. 20, 51, 125; J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, vol. viii. p. 385; vol. xi. p. 378.

Richard Cranch, of Baintree, was the husband of the elder sister of Mrs. Abigail Adams. Born (1720) in Devon, England, he came to Massachusetts in 1740, was a Representative from Baintree to the State Legislature in 1779, received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in 1780, and was now (1787) a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk County; he died October 16, 1811. W. T. Davis, *History of the Judiciary of Massachusetts*, p. 216; *Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams* (1848), pp. xxviii, 125; *John Adams, Works; Fleet's Almanack for 1787*; C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, p. 904.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Tufts was born in Medford, and his relatives still lived there.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Adams (H. C. 1789), second son of John Adams, born 1770; subsequently a lawyer in New York City; died there in 1800. Thomas Boylston Adams (H. C. 1790), born 1772; married Ann Harrod, of Haverhill; Representative from Quincy to the State Legislature, 1805-1806; was chosen a member of Governor Gerry's Council in May, 1811; was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the Southern Circuit, which included Norfolk, Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable counties, 1811-1819; died in 1832. Both were at this time students at Harvard, the one a Junior and the other a Sophomore; they had been visiting Mrs. Shaw, their maternal aunt, at Haverhill.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Shaw (H. C. 1772), son of the Rev. John Shaw, of Bridgewater; ordained in 1777; settled at Haverhill; died in 1794. Mrs. Shaw was Miss Elizabeth Smith, sister of Mrs. Abigail Adams,—a cultured and charming woman. J. Q. Adams was prepared for Harvard College in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, and always regarded her with affectionate veneration, as “one of the earliest and kindest friends and guardians of my childhood.” See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xlviii. pp. 179-181; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. xii. p. 275; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 2005.

\* Francis Welch, born May 31, 1766, at Plaistow, N. H.; June 3, 1789, ordained pastor of the West Parish in Amesbury; died December 15, 1793. Hurd, Hist. of Essex County, p. 1516.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Bailey Bartlett; see *infra*, p. 17 note.

Dalton,<sup>1</sup> with their two eldest daughters, and Miss Hazen. They all dined at Mr. White's,<sup>2</sup> and in the afternoon all returned to Mr. Dalton's seat at Newtown. The eldest daughter is very much as she was two years ago, blooming as a rose, and, they say, in a fair way to be married. The younger has grown since I last saw her, and appears to better advantage. Miss Hazen appears to have altered but very little since the time when I lived here with her: she is indeed now two years older, and must necessarily possess more prudence and steadiness; but her manners are still the same. I passed the evening with White<sup>3</sup> and returned home just before nine.

12th. Mr. Tappan<sup>4</sup> from Newbury preach'd here the whole day.

<sup>1</sup> Tristram Dalton, classmate of John Adams at Harvard, a wealthy and cultured merchant at Newburyport, active in political life. He had been a Representative and Senator in the State Legislature, and Speaker of the House; later, in 1789, he was the first United States Senator from Massachusetts. The younger Miss Dalton married Leonard White August 21, 1794. In addition to a fine town house (which is still standing on State Street in Newburyport, the headquarters of the Dalton Club) Tristram Dalton possessed this summer home in Newtown, now West Newbury. It was beautifully situated in the midst of some two hundred acres, about four miles from Newburyport, on the road to Haverhill, at the summit of Pipe Stave Hill, whence, a traveller of that day writes, eighteen church steeples were in view. See J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 339-346, 475-483. The view of the Merrimack from Pipe Stave Hill, a view of his town house, and a portrait of Tristram Dalton himself are reproduced there. See also E. F. Stone, *Sketch of Tristram Dalton*.

<sup>2</sup> John White, father of Leonard White (classmate of J. Q. Adams), was one of the wealthiest merchants in Haverhill, and dwelt in a "large three-story mansion" on Water Street, "one of the most imposing and costly dwellings in the region," with a terraced front yard with trellised fence and a deep garden in the rear with boxwood bordered walks. See Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> Leonard White, classmate of J. Q. Adams, was prepared for college by the Rev. John Shaw in company with J. Q. Adams and William Cranch. J. Q. Adams writes in his diary, June 8, 1787: "Leonard White of Haverhill was twenty the 3d of last month. I lived at Haverhill some time, and, as he chums with my cousin, I was acquainted with him before I came to the University, and have been very intimate with him since; his natural abilities, without being very great, are such as will enable him to go through life with honour, and his disposition is amiable. His virtues are numerous, but among them all modesty is the most conspicuous. I never knew any other person so intimately as I am acquainted with him, without having perceived in him some sparks of vanity; but I believe he never experienced the feeling. A remarkable neatness of person is likewise one of his characteristics, and is the more extraordinary because he has so few imitators here. He has so much candor that I never heard him speak ill of any one of his classmates, and very seldom of any one; his defects are only trivial foibles, and he will certainly be an useful member of society." Leonard White served on the Haverhill school committee and as town clerk and treasurer; was in the Legislature in 1809; a member of Congress, 1811-1813; cashier of the Merrimack Bank for a quarter of a century. He died in October, 1849, in his eighty-third year. See Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 2002, 2011, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. David Tappan (H. C. 1771), born in Manchester April 21, 1752; a

Both his sermons were doctrinal, but very ingenious. This gentleman is much celebrated in this part of the country, for his abilities, both natural and acquired. I was much pleased with the little conversation I had with him in the course of the day; but his public speaking is far from being graceful. Elocution indeed has not till very lately been considered as claiming a right to much attention in the education of youth; and consequently there are but very few preachers who had finished their education before the last war that make any figure at all as speakers; and even those who are acknowledged to be men of great genius and learning are with respect to the delivery far inferior to many modern preachers who have not half their talents.

13th. I intended to have gone this day to Newbury-Port, but the weather was so excessively warm, that I determined this morning to omit going till to-morrow. I paid a visit to Judge Sargeant<sup>1</sup> in the forenoon and spent a couple of hours there; conversed upon political subjects. Saw Mr. Thaxter a few minutes. After dinner I went with Mr. and Mrs. Shaw to see my classmate Eaton;<sup>2</sup> but he was not at home. On our return we stop'd at Parson Adams's,<sup>3</sup> but neither was he to be found, so that we then came home, and I passed the evening with my uncle.

14th. It was so warm again this day that I did not set out from Haverhill till between three and four in the afternoon. On the road I

classmate of Dr. John B. Swett, of Newburyport, at Harvard; settled over the Second Church in West Newbury April 18, 1774; appointed Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1792; died August 27, 1803. See Coffin, *Hist. of Newbury*, pp. 371, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant (H. C. 1750), a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (1775-1790), its Chief Justice (1790-1791). See Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 2003; J. Adams, *Works*, vol. ix. p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Eaton was born in the West Parish of Haverhill March 15, 1765; was a pupil at Phillips Andover Academy; studied for the ministry under his pastor, Dr. Phineas Adams; was settled over the church at Boxford for fifty-five years (1789-1846). March 24, 1787, J. Q. Adams wrote: "I have not the pleasure of an intimate acquaintance with him, but all those who have speak well of him. As a speaker he is distinguished, and as a scholar respectable; his public exercises have been in general equal if not superior to any in the class since I belonged to it; but he is very modest and diffident, so that he has not brought himself so much into notice as several others in the class, who without his abilities have a much greater share of confidence." See W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. viii. pp. 222-226; Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, p. 630; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Phineas Adams (H. C. 1762), a classmate of Judge Dana at Harvard, born in Rowley March 14, 1742; an acceptable pastor to the somewhat discordant West Parish of Haverhill from 1771 until his death in 1801. The parish had secured the dismissal of one pastor for heresy and made three unsuccessful attempts to fill the pulpit before Mr. Adams went there; after his death it remained for twenty-five years without a settled pastor. Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 567-570.

met at different times Mr. Tappan, Stedman, and Thompson,<sup>1</sup> and Tom Hooper. I arrived at Mr. Tufts's in Newbury-Port, just before sunset. I did not enter the town with the most favorable impressions. About three weeks hence I am to become an inhabitant of the place. Without friends or connections, I am to stand on my own ground, and am in all probability to live here three years; whether agreeably or not time only must discover; but the presages within my breast are not such as I should wish realized.

15th. In the forenoon I went to see Mr. Parsons,<sup>2</sup> and inform'd

<sup>1</sup> William Stedman (H. C. 1784) and Thomas W. Thompson (H. C. 1786) were students in the law office of Theophilus Parsons.

William Stedman, born in Cambridge, opened his law office in Lancaster; died in 1831. When J. Q. Adams was a member of the national Senate, William Stedman was in the House of Representatives (1803-1810), and lodged with J. Q. Adams's colleague, Timothy Pickering. It is probable that their relations were not then altogether cordial, as, a few weeks after his arrival, J. Q. Adams heard from his cousin, William Shaw, that William Stedman was the writer of a letter to the "Centinel" criticising very severely his attitude to the Louisiana question, etc., and ending with this summary of J. Q. Adams's course thus far,

"Quis talia fando  
Temperet a lachrymis."

See the "Centinel" for December 10, 1803; *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 291.

Thomas W. Thompson, son of Deacon Thomas Thompson, of Newbury; born March 15, 1766; prepared for college at Dummer Academy; graduated from Harvard in 1786; was apparently the most popular man in his class ("The class are rather disappointed by the absence of their favorite Thomson, who is so unwell as prevented him from appearing this day," diary of J. Q. Adams, Commencement Day, July 19, 1786); served as aid to General Lincoln during Shays's Rebellion; now (1787) a law student in Mr. Parsons's office. He was a tutor at Harvard 1789-1791; resumed his law studies with Mr. Parsons; began the practice of law in Salisbury, N. H., in 1794; postmaster at Salisbury; solicitor of the county in 1802; a member of Congress in 1805; represented Salisbury in the General Court in 1807 and 1808; was chosen State treasurer in 1809; removed to Concord; represented Concord in the Legislature for four years from 1811, being Speaker of the House the last two years; was elected United States Senator for three years in 1814; and was again a member of the State Legislature. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College 1801-1821; he died October, 1821. Daniel Webster began his law studies in Mr. Thompson's office. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. viii. p. 118; also F. Webster, *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, vol. i. pp. 188-190, for a letter by Mr. Thompson written in 1804, the letter of a busy, active, kindly man; C. H. Bell, *Bench and Bar of New Hampshire*, pp. 688, 689; "Harvard College, 1786-1787," in H. Adams, *Historical Essays*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus Parsons, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a son of the Rev. Moses Parsons, was born in the neighboring parish of Byfield (the old parsonage is still standing); educated at Dummer Academy and Harvard College (1769). Then (1787) a man of thirty-seven, with some thirteen years' experience at the bar, several young men of promise had gone forth from his office in the low house that still stands on State Street;—the most noteworthy, perhaps, was Rufus King, at this time (1787) a member of the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia.

him that I should probably attend at his office in about three weeks. Stedman and Thomson are there now, but the former of these will leave the office by the latter end of next month. My classmate Putnam<sup>1</sup> has applied for admission, and intends, I am told, to enter the office in November. Two at once would be full sufficient, but if there are half a dozen it cannot be helped. I went, accompanied by Stedman, and paid a visit to Miss Jones, the young lady who was at Mr. Wigglesworth's<sup>2</sup> when Bridge<sup>3</sup> and I boarded there last winter. She looks very unwell, and they fear she is in a consumption. Dined at Mr. Tufts's, and soon after dinner I went to see my friend and classmate Little.<sup>4</sup> I found Thomson there, but he soon after proceeded on his

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Putnam, of Danvers, then an immature youth of twenty, later a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for twenty-eight years. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Wigglesworth (H. C. 1749), Hollis Professor of Divinity, 1765-1791. His daughter Margaret, the Miss Wigglesworth mentioned below, born December 28, 1766, married Rev. John Andrews September 8, 1789, and lived thereafter in Newburyport.

<sup>3</sup> J. Q. Adams and his classmate James Bridge boarded at Professor Wigglesworth's during an eight weeks' vacation due to lack of fuel at the University. See Henry Adams, *Historical Essays*, pp. 93, 94. On pages 80-122 of Mr. Adams's volume, in an essay entitled "Harvard College 1780-1787," free quotations are made from the diary of J. Q. Adams for that period. See *infra*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Moses Little, born in Newbury July 4, 1766; died in Salem October 13, 1811. J. Q. Adams wrote, under date of May 9, 1787, "Great application, joined to very good natural abilities, place him in the first line in the class as a scholar; he has been attentive to all those parts of science which are pursued here, and in all he has made considerable proficiency. As a speaker he is inferior to several, but his composition is perhaps rather too flowery; to a large share of ambition he unites great modesty, and he has the peculiar talent of being favour'd by the government of the College without losing his popularity with his classmates. His disposition must of course be amiable; he seldom contradicts the opinions of any one, yet when he is obliged to declare his own sentiments, he can show that he thinks for himself; but notwithstanding all his good qualities he is sometimes censured, and such is the instability of all populates that a small trifle might induce two-thirds of the class to deny the improvements and the abilities even of this person." Compare the characterization in James Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, vol. i. p. 358. Moses Little was then a medical student under Dr. J. B. Swett, of Newburyport. Later he was a well-known surgeon in Salem, and lived in the house opposite the Essex Institute. He, and afterward his children, died of consumption; fearing this result, he prepared this inscription, which was placed on his tombstone, —

Phthisis insatiabilis,  
Patrem Matremque  
Devorasti.  
Parce, O! Parce,  
Liberis.

He was the son of Richard Little, a shoemaker, seaman, and farmer, who was living in 1787 on Newbury Green. G. T. Little, *The Descendants of George Little*, pp. 87, 94.



way to Wenham. We had several smart showers in the course of the afternoon. Just before dark I return'd to Mr. Tufts's at the Port. In the evening, between nine and ten, we had a very heavy shower, with a violent gust of wind.

16th. I went again this forenoon to see Miss Jones, and offered to call in the afternoon and take a letter for Miss Wigglesworth; but when we set out I entirely forgot my promise, and did not recollect it till I had got some way out of town. Mr. Thaxter arrived in town this morning, and dined at Mr. Tufts's. In the forenoon I engaged a place where I am to board; which is at a Mrs. Leathers's.<sup>1</sup> It is not so convenient as I should wish; but I must put up with it for a time, and when I get here I shall be able to look out for myself. Soon after dinner, I set off in company with Mr. Thaxter; stopp'd a few minutes at Mr. Dalton, where I found a large company from town, and arrived at Haverhill at about sunset.

17th. At home all the forenoon, reading Tom Jones,<sup>2</sup> one of the best novels in the language. The scenes are not only such as may have taken place, but they are similar to such as almost every person may have witnessed. This book cannot lead a person to form too favorable an opinion of human nature; but neither will it give a false one.

Pass'd the afternoon and part of the evening at Mr. White's. The papers of this day give an account of a violent hurricane, which did a vast deal of injury in the towns of Framingham, Sudbury, Marlborough and some others in the County of Worcester, on Wednesday in the afternoon. It was not perceived in these parts of the country, where there were only two or three heavy showers of rain in the course of that day.

18th. This forenoon I took a ride with White to see our classmate Eaton. We spent about an hour with him and return'd before dinner. Dined at Mr. White's and the afternoon went to see his pearl ash works:<sup>3</sup> the sight of these, and the account of all the process in making pot and pearl ash, was pleasing because it was new. Leonard complains very much of the stagnation of business; and indeed commerce, as well as the other professions, offers but a miserable prospect to young persons. It is however to be hoped that the scene will brighten within a few years; and when we have nothing more substantial to support us, we must place our dependence upon hope. When I return'd home, I found Mr. Shaw gone to Newbury, where he is to preach to-morrow for Mr. Kimball.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Leathers lived on State Street, a block below Mr. Parsons's office.

<sup>2</sup> Fielding's novel, "Tom Jones," was published in 1749.

<sup>3</sup> This was an early industry in Haverhill, dating from 1750. It furnished an article of export to England, Ireland, etc. Chase, Hist. of Haverhill, pp. 338, 452.

19th. Mr. Kimball<sup>1</sup> preach'd a couple of practical discourses, the subjects of which I liked better than those of Mr. Tappan, last Sunday: his manner of treating his subjects, though good, was not, I think, equal to that of the other gentleman. After meeting I convers'd with him, chiefly upon political topics. He has a most tremendous frown and appears upon so short an acquaintance to be possess'd rather of a peevish difficult temper; which I judge not from his conversation but his countenance; and I am inform'd that this opinion is not erroneous. It was almost sunset when Mr. Shaw came home. Leonard White pass'd part of the evening here, and I took a walk with him down upon the banks of the river. The weather very fair, but looks as if it would not continue so long.

20th. I had some thoughts of leaving Haverhill this morning, but it rain'd all the forenoon; and, as I am not in any particular haste and my friends here are still willing I should remain with them, I determined to defer my departure a day or two longer. I staid at home the whole day. Mr. Thaxter<sup>2</sup> spent the evening with us. He finally declared that he intended, if no unforeseen event should take place, to be married before next December; and I am heartily glad of it.

21st. Hazy weather again all the forenoon. I went and pass'd an hour with my friend White before dinner. Spent the afternoon with Mr. Thaxter at his office. Mr. Dodge was there, a great part of the time. We conversed upon various subjects. Mr. Thaxter, whose feelings are very warm, express'd his sentiments quite openly with respect to a gentleman whose political conduct has been of late somewhat suspicious. I drank tea at Mr. B. Bartlett's.<sup>3</sup> Parson

<sup>1</sup> Rev. True Kimball (H. C. 1778), born in Plaistow, N. H., January 23, 1767; settled over the church in West Newbury from November, 1782, to April, 1797; died July 17, 1816, at Hampstead, N. H. See Coffin, *Hist. of Newbury*, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> John Thaxter (H. C. 1774), cousin of Mrs. Abigail Adams, son of Colonel John Thaxter, of Hingham, and grandson of Colonel John Quincy; born July, 1756; died July, 1791. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary troubles he was studying law in the office of John Adams; was tutor to J. Q. Adams for several years, and accompanied the father and son, as private secretary to the former, on his second mission to Europe in 1779; returned to America in 1783 as the bearer of the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. In 1787 he was practising law in Haverhill. He married Elizabeth Duncan, daughter of James Duncan, a merchant in Haverhill. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 7; Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 461, 628; *Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams*, pp. 24, 27, 35, 367; John Adams, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 589; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Bailey Bartlett, a friend of John Adams, was a fellow-boarder with him and with Samuel Adams at Philadelphia when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. He was a Representative in the Legislature 1781-1784; a member of the State Senate in 1780, and of the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States; a Representative to Congress in 1797 and 1799. For forty years,

Smith<sup>1</sup> with his lady, Captain Willis<sup>2</sup> and his wife were there, and Mr. and Mrs. Lee from Cambridge. It was the first time I had ever been in company with Mr. Lee: he has, I am told, much more show than solidity. He does good, however, with his fortune; and this is meritorious, though the motives by which he is actuated may not be the most noble and generous. Return'd home at about seven o'clock, and received an invitation from Judge Sargeant, which will detain me here one day more.

22d. Dined at Judge Sargeant's, with Mr. and Mrs. Shaw. Mr. Porter<sup>3</sup> and his lady are there upon a visit from Rye; with a child about six weeks old, which forsooth immediately after dinner must be produced, and was handed about from one to another; and very shrewd discoveries were made of its resemblance to all the family by turns, whereas in fact it did resemble nothing but chaos. How much is the merciful author of nature to be adored for implanting in the heart of man a passion stronger than the power of reason, which affords delight to the parent at the sight of his offspring, even at a time when to every other person it must be disgusting. Yet it appears to me that parents would do wisely in keeping their children out of sight, at least untill they are a year old, for I cannot see what satisfaction, either sensual or intellectual, can be derived from seeing a misshapen, bawling, slobbering infant, unless to persons particularly interested. We drank tea likewise at the Judge's, and return'd home between seven and eight in the evening. Leonard White came up to give me a letter for his chum.

23d. I left Haverhill this morning at about nine o'clock; and at twelve arrived at the tavern in Wilmington, where I dined. At about two I again set off and got to Cambridge a little before six. I came

beginning with 1789, with an intermission of a few months when Elbridge Gerry was Governor, he held the office of sheriff in Essex County; in 1828 he cast an electoral vote for J. Q. Adams as President. See Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 2009, 2010; G. W. Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 618-620.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Hezekiah Smith, born on Long Island, N. Y., April 21, 1737; graduated from Princeton in 1762; ordained as an Evangelist in Charleston, S. C.; gathered a Baptist church in Haverhill; remained its pastor for nearly forty years, until his death in 1805. In 1797 he received the degree of D.D. from Brown University, of which he had been an earnest supporter. Mrs. B. Bartlett was a daughter of John White, who with others of his connection were the earliest adherents of Mr. Smith. See Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 584-587, 635; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1994-1996.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Benjamin Willis, born in Boston January 10, 1743, married Mary Ball in 1765; a shipmaster of Charlestown; was taken prisoner by the British on the sea; when released he found his family had taken refuge in Haverhill; he followed them thither, and continued his interest in shipping. See Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 451, 452; Wyman's *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 1036.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Porter was Judge Sargeant's daughter.

through Mystic<sup>1</sup> and called at Mrs. Tufts's, to see my friend Freeman,<sup>2</sup> but he was gone to Boston. When I got to Cambridge I found great alterations had taken place since I left College, Mr. Reed<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Burr<sup>4</sup> have resigned, and likewise the librarian.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Webber<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Ware were chosen as Tutors, but Mr. Ware declined accepting as he has an unanimous call to settle at Hingham,<sup>7</sup> and will probably soon be ordain'd. Mr. Abbot<sup>8</sup> has since that been chosen, and Mr. I.

<sup>1</sup> Mystic, i. e. Medford, the home town of the Tufts family. Mrs. Tufts was probably the widow of Dr. Simon Tufts (brother of Dr. Cotton Tufts), who died December 31, 1786. Usher, Hist. of Medford, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> J. Q. Adams's classmate, Nathaniel Freeman. See *infra*, p. 26 note.

<sup>3</sup> Nathan Read (H. C. 1781), a tutor from 1783 to 1787; studied medicine; an apothecary at Salem; an inventor; 1796 established the Salem Iron Foundry for the manufacture of anchors, chain cables, etc.; elected a Representative to Congress in 1801; removed to Belfast, Me., in 1807; was one of the leading citizens of the town; one of the founders of Belfast Academy, and for forty years one of its trustees; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; died in January, 1849. October 27, 1786, J. Q. Adams wrote: "Mr. Read came here [Quincy] in the afternoon, to spend a day. Though he cannot entirely lay aside the tutor, but retains a little of the collegiate stiffness, yet he endeavours to be affable, and is very sociable. These people when distant from their seat of empire, and divested of their power which gives them such an advantageous idea of their own superiority, are much more agreeable than they are when their dignity puts them at such an awful distance from their pupils. Mr. Read conversed much upon several subjects and with a great deal of complaisance; but with most ease and pleasure upon subjects which form part of the studies at the university." See "Harvard College, 1786-1787," in H. Adams, Historical Essays, pp. 106, 107, for J. Q. Adams's earlier opinion of Read. See J. Williamson, Hist. of Belfast, pp. 550-552; David Read, Nathan Read: his Inventions, etc., a pamphlet of 200 pages; J. L. Chamberlain, Universities and their Sons, vol. iv. p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Jonathan Burr (H. C. 1784), tutor from 1786 to 1787, ordained at Sandwich April 18, 1787; he was a pastor there for thirty years; died in Sandwich in 1842. He was chiefly instrumental in the establishment of the academy at Sandwich. Freeman, Hist. of Cape Cod, vol. i. p. 645; vol. ii. pp. 134, 137, 139, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Hon. James Winthrop (H. C. 1769), librarian from 1772 to 1787. Born in Cambridge April 3, 1752, a son of Professor John Winthrop, a classmate of Theophilus Parsons; he died September 26, 1821. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 338, for his portrait; 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. x. pp. 77-80 for memoir; etc. See *infra*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Webber (H. C. 1784), later President of Harvard College (1806-1810).

<sup>7</sup> Rev. Henry Ware (H. C. 1785), pastor at Hingham 1787-1805, Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard 1806-1840. He had been a student of theology at Cambridge for the past two years; and during his first months in college J. Q. Adams roomed with him. See Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. viii. pp. 199-207. H. Adams, Historical Essays, p. 86. See entry in this diary of October 24.

<sup>8</sup> John Abbot (H. C. 1784), tutor 1787-1792. Born at Andover April 8, 1759; he was Professor of Ancient Languages and Classical Literature at Bowdoin

Smith<sup>1</sup> was elected librarian, but has not yet accepted. I passed the evening at several chambers among my old acquaintance, Phillips, Clarke, Lincoln and my classmate Packard;<sup>2</sup> the only one now in town. Indeed it seemed extraordinary to walk through the college yard and the town finding scholars everywhere, yet without seeing one of those with whom I was the most closely connected. It made me quite dull.

24th. I lodg'd last night with Lincoln, the Senior, whose chum was out of town. Breakfasted this morning with Mr. Andrews, who returned from Hingham last evening. I visited Mr. James and Doctor Jennison; both were very polite.<sup>3</sup> The doctor informs me that several material alterations are about to take place with respect to the plan of studies pursued here. Doddridge<sup>4</sup> is to be put entirely

College 1802-1816; Librarian there 1802-1824, and Treasurer 1816-1829; he died at Andover July 2, 1843. Gen. Catalogue of Bowdoin College. He was a cousin of J. Q. Adams's classmate, Abiel Abbot. Gen. Register of the Abbot Family.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Isaac Smith (H. C. 1767), a scholarly man, fond of a quiet life, a kinsman of Abigail Adams, son of a Boston merchant; born May 18, 1749; tutor at Harvard in 1774; left for Europe on the outbreak of the war; became pastor of a small congregation at Sidmouth on the coast of Devonshire; returned to America in 1784; librarian at Harvard 1787-1791; prepared the first printed catalogue of the Harvard College Library; was preceptor at Dummer Academy, Byfield, 1791-1809; lastly chaplain of the Almshouse in Boston; died September 8, 1829, aged eighty years; was never married. N. Cleaveland, *The First Century of Dummer Academy*, pp. 34-39; *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen*, pp. 69-71, 73, 106, 189-205, 465; *Christian Examiner*, vol. xlii. pp. 337-339.

<sup>2</sup> "Hezekiah Packard, of Newtown, Middlesex Co., was twenty-four the 6th of last December. He has a good share of original wit; but his genius is not uncommon; his improvements are greater than those of the students in general, but not such as to place him in the first rank of scholars. As a speaker he is too much addicted to a monotony, whatever his declamations are. His disposition is good, and his moral character is unimpeachable." J. Q. Adams, diary, May 22, 1787. Packard's father was a farmer in Bridgewater, Mass. He was born December 6, 1761; a soldier during the Revolution, a boy of fourteen he was in the battle of Harlem Heights; had an unfortunate hospital experience; cultivated his farm; and finally, in the spring of 1782, decided to prepare for college. In 1787 Hezekiah Packard taught the Grammar School in Cambridge and had a room in the college. He was a tutor in mathematics for four years from 1789; was pastor of the church in Chelmsford from October, 1793, to July 29, 1802; a pastor at Wiscasset, Me., from 1802 to 1830; pastor at Middlesex Village of Chelmsford, Mass., from 1830 to 1836; for seventeen years a trustee of Bowdoin College and for ten years Vice-President; he died April 25, 1849, at Salem. See *Memoir of Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D.D.*; chiefly autobiographical (1850), 68 pp.; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. viii. p. 406; *Memoirs of S. Willard*, vol. i. p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Eleazar James (H. C. 1778) was a tutor from 1781 to 1789. Timothy Lindall Jennison (H. C. 1782), born July 15, 1761, at Douglas; tutor 1785-1788; received the honorary degree of M.D. in 1824; died in Cambridge October 19, 1845. "Harvard College, 1786-1787" in H. Adams, *Historical Essays*, pp. 106, 118.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Doddridge, *Course of Lectures on Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity*, 2 vols., 1763 (2d ed., 1776). When J. Q. Adams was in college, all Juniors

into the hands of the theological professor, which is its proper place; and some attention to history is to be called forth by the recitations on Saturday mornings. The mathematics will be taught in better order than they have been heretofore; and indeed it always appear'd absurd to me, that Sophomores should study Euclid, and learn common arithmetic after they commence Juniors. Henceforth arithmetic, with some little practical geometry, surveying, trigonometry, &c., are to be taught them before they begin upon Euclid, — all the changes which the doctor mentioned will, I think, be for the better. Dined with Mr. Andrews and passed the afternoon at college. Just as I was going into prayers, I was stopped by a couple of French officers from on board the fleet now lying in Boston Harbour.<sup>1</sup> They desired to see the colleges. I waited on them into the library, the museum and the philosophy chamber. After they had satisfied their curiosity, they set out for Boston, and I for Braintree. It was between six and seven o'clock before I got away; at about nine I arrived at Braintree, where I found all my friends well.

25th. In the forenoon I went to Weymouth, to return Dr. Tufis's horse. Dined at the doctor's and pass'd the afternoon there; walk'd leisurely home, and arrived at about sunset. This morning Mrs. Cranch and her son<sup>2</sup> went to Boston. My cousin intends to read law with Mr. Dawes,<sup>3</sup> and will enter his office next Monday. Very damp sultry weather.

26th. I did not attend meeting this day. Employ'd myself chiefly

and Seniors were obliged to attend a series of lectures on divinity and were examined "on assigned portions of the theological part of Doddridge's Lectures." See Josiah Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard University*, vol. ii. pp. 259, 260.

<sup>1</sup> August 23, 1787, there arrived in Boston harbor a French squadron of seven sail under the command of the Marquis de Senneville, who had brought to America, in 1778, the treaty with France. It remained till September 28. See the "Centinel."

<sup>2</sup> "William Cranch, of Braintree, was seventeen the 17th of last July. The ties of blood, strengthened by those of the sincerest friendship, unite me to him in the nearest manner. Our sentiments upon most subjects are so perfectly similar, that I could not praise him, without being conscious of expressing a tacit applause of my own. His manners I can however pronounce amiable; his spirit, nobly independent; his judgment sound, and his imagination lively. His thirst for useful knowledge and his fondness for study is not surpassed by that of any individual in the class: happy were it for me, if with a perfect coincidence with his opinions in general, I could unite the same talents and the same accomplishments." *Diary of J. Q. Adams*, March 19, 1787. William Cranch was a classmate of J. Q. Adams at Harvard. He was appointed by John Adams a Judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, and was later its Chief Justice. See Appleton, *Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Dawes (H. C. 1777), born in Boston in 1758, studied law under John Lowell; 1792-1802 a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; 1802-1822 Judge of the Municipal Court in the town of Boston. W. T. Davis, *Hist. of the Judiciary of Massachusetts*, p. 186.

in reading and writing. Mr. Weld<sup>1</sup> preach'd for Mr. Wibird,<sup>2</sup> and dined here. Miss Street and one of Capt'n Beale's sons, with Mr. J. Warren<sup>3</sup> dined with us likewise; in the evening Mrs. Cranch and Dr. Tufts return'd from Boston. My uncle Smith has been for some time very ill of a complication of disorders. The doctor thinks he is at present better than he has been, but that the symptoms are yet dangerous. Up late in consequence of an afternoon nap; read some poetry and some prose, in a cursory manner.

27th. I employ'd myself in the forenoon with making some necessary preparations before my final departure for Newbury-Port. In the afternoon I accompanied the ladies to Mrs. Quincy's.<sup>4</sup> Miss Nancy has been very ill, and is much thinner than when I saw her last. She is, however, recovering. Pass'd an agreeable afternoon, and return'd home just after dark.

28th. Rode out in the morning with Mrs. Cranch.<sup>5</sup> It rain'd hard all the afternoon — chilly north-east wind. The fruits of the earth are at this time extremely backward, on account of the little heat and the great rains that have prevailed this summer. The productions of our lands require frequent, rather than plentiful rains, and great heat, as the summers are so short.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Ezra Weld (Yale College, 1759), pastor in the neighboring South Precinct of Braintree from November 17, 1762, to August 17, 1807; born in Pomfret, Conn., June 13, 1736; died at Braintree January 16, 1816; brother-in-law of Dr. Micajah Sawyer of Newburyport. Hurd, Hist. of Norfolk County, p. 113; Hurd, Hist. of Essex County, p. 1744.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Anthony Wibird (H. C. 1747), pastor of the North Precinct of Braintree, later (after 1792) known as Quincy, for forty-five years, from 1755 to 1800; born at Portsmouth February 14, 1723-29; died at Quincy June 4, 1800. In 1759 John Adams describes him as having a great knowledge of human nature, but as being steeped in a "dronish effeminacy"; and, on Fast-day, 1775, Mrs. Abigail Adams drove to Dedham because she "could not bear to hear our inanimate old bachelor." J. Q. Adams wrote, April 15, 1787: "Went to meeting in the forenoon and heard Mr. Wibird preach. The most pleasing part of his performances is his reading the Psalms: I never heard any person read poetry with so much propriety, and energy. He appears inspired at those times, though never in his own discourses. I did not go in the afternoon." John Adams, Works, vol. ii. pp. 60, 72, 197; Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams (1848), p. 48; C. F. Adams, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, pp. 641-643, 762, 841.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Joseph Warren (H. C. 1756), son of General Joseph Warren, born August 10, 1768; died April 2, 1790; an officer at the Castle. Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, p. 545.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Ann Quincy, widow of Josiah Quincy (1709-1784), grandmother of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University. "Nancy" married the Rev. Asa Packard, of Marlborough, a brother of J. Q. Adams's classmate, Hezekiah Packard, and died February, 1844, at the advanced age of eighty. Edmund Quincy, Life of Josiah Quincy, p. 56. See *infra*, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Mary Smith Cranch, aunt of J. Q. Adams, wife of Richard Cranch, mother of Judge William Cranch.

29th. Rain'd in the fore part of the day, but cleared up in the afternoon. I went with my gun down upon the marshes; but had no sport. Game laws are said to be directly opposed to the liberties of the subject: I am well persuaded that they may be carried too far, and that they really are in most parts of Europe. But it is equally certain that where there are none, there never is any game; so that the difference between the country where laws of this kind exist and that where they are unknown must be that in the former very few individuals will enjoy the privilege of hunting and eating venison, and in the latter this privilege will be enjoy'd by nobody.

30th. Staid at home the whole day. Doctor Tufts was here in the morning, on his road to Boston, and in the evening on his return. I took a nap in the afternoon and had a strange dream. I cannot conceive where my imagination ransack'd the ideas which prevailed at that time in my mind. This part of the action of the human soul is yet to be accounted for, and perhaps has not been scrutinized with so much accuracy as it might have been. In the evening I read about one half of Mr. Jefferson's Notes<sup>1</sup> upon Virginia and was very much pleased with them; there is a great deal of learning shewn without ostentation, and a spirit of philosophy equally instructive and entertaining.

31st. A very warm day. Rambling all the morning. I met a couple of French officers, gunning on my uncle's farm. In the afternoon I went with the ladies, to see my Grand-mamma;<sup>2</sup> return'd at about dusk; and closed the last day which I propose to spend in Braintree for some time.

Saturday, September 1st, 1787.

Between nine and ten o'clock this morning I departed from Braintree with Mrs. Cranch; we got to Mr. Foster's at about twelve. I went to Mr. Dawes's office, where I found Cranch and Forbes; dined with the former at Mr. Foster's. Stroll'd about town all the afternoon, and just before sunset I took a walk to Cambridge; where I arrived at about eight o'clock.

2d. Attended meeting all day. Mr. Hilliard<sup>3</sup> preach'd; much in the old way. The meeting house, however, did not look as it was wont. The same deficiency I found there that I had perceived in the colleges

<sup>1</sup> The first English edition of Jefferson's "Notes" was Paris, 1782; the first American edition, Philadelphia, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Susanna Boylston Adams, daughter of Peter Boylston, of Brookline, born March 6, 1699; died April 17, 1797. A. N. Adams, Adams Hist.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Timothy Hilliard (H. C. 1764), pastor of the First Church in Cambridge from October 27, 1783, until his death, May 9, 1790. Born at Kensington, N. H., February 28, 1747; tutor at Harvard 1768-1771; pastor at Barnstable 1771-1783. Paige, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 298.



and everywhere in this town. All my classmates gone. I dined at Mr. Wigglesworth's with Packard. Peggy appears as amiable as ever. I pass'd the evening with my brothers, and lodg'd with Tom.

3d. I pass'd about an hour, before dinner, with Mr. Winthrop, the late librarian. He is much of a politician; his opinion with respect to the situation of the country is always favorable. Dined with Mr. Andrews. Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> the Senior, was there; a young lad of good abilities, and of great application. In the afternoon I met a couple of French officers in the College yard, who wish'd to see the library and museum; but the butler was not to be found, and they were obliged to defer the gratification of their curiosity to some future opportunity. In the evening I sat about an hour in my brothers' chamber. A number of Juniors were collected in a chamber near there, and were enjoying all the pleasures of conviviality; it brought to my mind the frequent scenes of a similar nature, at which I was present, a short time ago. An involuntary sigh arose in my breast; I left the chamber to put a stop to melancholy recollection, and went to the butler's room; I found Mr. Stedman and Mr. Andrews with him, and pass'd the remainder of the evening very agreeably. Stedman<sup>2</sup> and Harris<sup>3</sup> exerted their talents at telling stories, and diverted us very much; between nine and ten, I retired with Mr. Andrews and lodg'd with him.

4th. After breakfast I return'd to College, and on the way stopp'd at the President's. He was not at home, but Mrs. Willard desired me to take a letter for Sophy,<sup>4</sup> who is now on a visit at Newbury-Port. At about ten o'clock I went with a number of scholars in the stage carriage for Boston; just as we were going off we met Cranch who had walk'd up from Boston, expecting there would be a meeting of the Φ B K this forenoon, but as it is deferr'd till to-morrow, he return'd with us. I attended Court, but there were no causes of any great

<sup>1</sup> Abner Lincoln, born July 17, 1766, in Hingham; married Hannah, daughter of General Benjamin Lincoln; was preceptor of Derby Academy 1790-1805; died June 10, 1826. Hist. of Hingham, vol. i. part ii. pp. 129, 138; vol. ii. p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Stedman, the law student with Theophilus Parsons; see *supra*, p. 14 note.

<sup>3</sup> Harris; see *infra*, p. 26 note.

<sup>4</sup> Sophia Willard married Francis Dana, Jr., August 4, 1802. Paige, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 692; H. Adams, Historical Essays, pp. 102-104, for J. Q. Adams's opinion of President Willard. "Cranch and myself dined at the President's. Mrs. Willard is as different in her manners from the President as can be; they form quite a contrast. Mrs. W. is easy and unaffected, and appears not to be made for ceremony. He is stiff and formal, attached to every custom and trifling form as much as to what is of consequence; however, he was quite sociable; much more so indeed than I should have expected." J. Q. Adams, September 10, 1786.

importance argued. Dined with Mr. Dawes, in company with Mr. Gardiner,<sup>1</sup> who was once an orator on the 4th of July. He is an original character, but shows much more wit in his private conversation than in his public performances. I had engaged a place in the stage to go to Newbury-Port to-morrow, and I found some difficulty to disengage myself; however another person applied in the afternoon, and I retain'd my place for Friday. Pass'd the evening at Mr. Smith's, with Mr. and Mrs. Otis and Dr. Welch<sup>2</sup> and his lady; lodg'd with my cousin at Mr. Foster's.

5th. Took an early breakfast, and walk'd with Cranch to Cambridge; we got to Packard's chamber, just after nine o'clock. There was a meeting of the  $\Phi$  B K. The president<sup>3</sup> and vice-president<sup>4</sup> being both absent, Mr. Andrews presided for the meeting; a number of new regulations were introduced; the resignation of the president was read and accepted. Just before twelve, the officers for the ensuing year were ballotted. Mr. Ware,<sup>4</sup> (who arrived just before the choice) was

<sup>1</sup> John Gardiner, the Bostonian who served as junior counsel in one of the celebrated "John Wilkes" cases in England, delivered the oration at Boston on July 4, 1785. See J. S. Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 163-172; Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Deacon Isaac Smith of the Brattle Square Church in Boston; Samuel Alleyne Otis (H. C. 1759), brother of James Otis, father of Harrison Gray Otis, one time speaker of the House of Delegates of Massachusetts, Secretary of the United States Senate, etc.; Mary, his second wife, daughter of Deacon Smith. This same group, including Dr. Welch, is mentioned in the diary September 26 and October 14, 1785. Thomas Welsh, M.D. (H. C. 1772), born at Charlestown June 1, 1752; married Abigail Kent, daughter of a sea-captain of Charlestown, niece of Deacon Smith; was an army surgeon at Lexington and Bunker Hill; March 5, 1783, delivered the last of the series of orations at the "Old Brick Church" on the site of Cornhill-square to commemorate the Boston Massacre. In 1787 Dr. Welsh was a physician residing on Sudbury Street in Boston. In 1799 he was surgeon at Castle Island; physician at the hospital at Rainsford's Island for many years; member of the Boston Board of Health; vice-president of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1815; a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; died at Boston February 9, 1831. J. S. Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 154, 155; Wyman, *Genealogies of Charlestown*, pp. 571, 1007; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 4; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Joshua Paine (H. C. 1784), son of Rev. Joshua Paine, of Sturbridge, born December 5, 1763; received the degree of A.M. from Yale in 1787; installed over the church in Charlestown January 10, 1787; died February 26, 1788. See Peter Thacher, Sermon preached at Charlestown, February 29, 1788, on the interment of Rev. Joshua Paine, Jr. "Mr. Paine was [at Mr. Hilliard's] and appeared quite happy in his new situation. The people of Charlestown, who never could be united in their opinions for a minister, are universally very much attached to him, and his talents and virtues are such as will probably preserve him that esteem, which he has every where acquired. Mr. H. appears to be very fond of him, and proud of him as a brother." J. Q. Adams, January 15, 1787.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Henry Ware, Vice-President, 1786-1787; President, 1787-1791.

elected president; Mr. Harris,<sup>1</sup> vice-president; Abbot,<sup>2</sup> secretary; and Phillips,<sup>3</sup> treasurer. Immediately after this business was finished, we walk'd in procession to the chapel, preceded by the two orators (*Lowell and Freeman*). Freeman<sup>4</sup> gave us an oration containing mis-

<sup>1</sup> William Harris (H. C. 1786), then a student of theology; later (1802-1816) rector of St. Mark's in New York and (1811-1829) President of Columbia College.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Abiel Abbot (H. C. 1787), born December 14, 1765, at Wilton, N. H.; taught at Phillips Andover and at Harvard; pastor of the church at Coventry, Conn., 1795-1811, compelled to resign for "heresy"; Principal of Dummer Academy 1811-1819; farmer in Andover; in 1821 established a school at Chelmsford; in 1823 took a farm in Wilton; 1827 to 1839 pastor at Peterborough, N. H.; received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in 1838; died in Cambridge January 31, 1859, aged ninety-three. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. viii. pp. 229-241; Cleaveland, *The First Century of Dummer Academy*, p. 42; Abiel Abbot, etc., *Genealogical Register of the Abbot Family* (1847), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> John Phillips (H. C. 1788), a member of the Massachusetts Senate for nearly twenty years and first Mayor of Boston. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 249, 467, 469; vol. viii. p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> April 2, 1787, J. Q. Adams wrote: "Nathaniel Freeman, of Sandwich, County of Barnstable, was twenty-one the 1st of last month. Few persons are so liberally gifted by nature as this gentleman—he is of a middle size, but extremely well proportioned, his countenance is very handsome and full of dignity. As an animated speaker he shines unrivaled in our class, and for brilliancy of imagination he is inferior to none of his fellow students. He appears to be well acquainted with his peculiar excellence, and has therefore chiefly attended to composition; perhaps he has gone too far in this respect so as to neglect other studies equally useful. In the languages, in the mathematical, and philosophical pursuits, and in metaphysics, though superior to the generality of the students, he is, however, surpassed by many individuals. He was formed for an orator, and as such he will be distinguished whether he plead at the bar or administer at the altar. With great sensibility he unites great ambition; but notwithstanding his numerous advantages he is as free from vanity as any person of my acquaintance. He is warm in his friendship, and perhaps rather too keen in his resentments. His passions are strong, but their violence is counteracted by the generosity of his heart. He has many imperfections which are the concomitants of humanity; but upon the whole it would be difficult to find at this university a more promising character." The son of General Nathaniel Freeman, M.D., he was born in Sandwich March 1, 1766; studied law; in 1794 received a unanimous vote, save one, as Representative to Congress, and served two terms; died August 22, 1800; a brigade major for sixteen years of his short life. See Freeman, *Hist. of Cape Cod*, vol. i. p. 561; vol. ii. p. 137. The "Mass. Centinel" for July 21, 1787, gives a highly laudatory account of his oration at the Harvard Commencement. On May 21 Mr. Adams wrote, "Was employ'd the chief part of the day in writing my part for Commencement, and have not yet finished it. As I am conscious of having no talent at rhetorical composition, this allotment has given me a vast deal of anxiety. As my part is of the same kind with that of Freeman whose chief talent, among many others, lies in this kind of compositions, I dread the comparisons which may be made; and although my friendship for him is such that I shall rejoice to see him perform his part with universal approbation and unbounded applause, yet I cannot help fearing that contrasts may be drawn, which will reflect disgrace upon me." Apparently the fears here expressed were

cellaneous observations, without any professed subject; and this like all his other performances was extremely well written, and equally well delivered. *Lowell*<sup>1</sup> gave us an encomium upon history, which contained a number of very good observations, but his delivery was not without a share of that affectation which, if I may so express myself, is natural to him. The students attended very generally except those of the Senior class; who kept off, from a spirit of envy, all except D.<sup>2</sup> We return'd to the butler's room, and soon after proceeded to Mr. Warland's, where we had an excellent dinner provided for us. Besides the members of the present Senior class, there were present Mr. Kendall,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. B. Green,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ware, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Harris, Packard, Cranch, Freeman, and myself. After passing a couple of hours in friendly mirth and festivity, at three o'clock we adjourn'd again to Packard's chamber, where we voted to admit Mr. *Bancroft*,<sup>5</sup> a minister of Worcester; Mr.

unfounded, as under date of Commencement Day (July 18) he wrote that he "was complimented and flattered on every side. One such day every year, would ruin me." "Harvard College, 1786-1787," in H. Adams, *Historical Essays*, p. 99.

<sup>1</sup> John Lowell (H. C. 1786), son of Judge John Lowell, became one of the leaders of the Federalist Party in Massachusetts. He and J. Q. Adams do not seem to have harmonized when they were both members of the Massachusetts Senate in 1802; John Lowell was then one of the supporters of Timothy Pickering; later, a signer of the letter of November 20, 1828, demanding of J. Q. Adams the names of the Federalist leaders charged with wishing a dissolution of the Union in 1808; he also signed the "Appeal to the Citizens of the United States" of January 28, 1829. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 252, 259, 408, vol. vi. p. 14; H. Adams, *New England Federalism*, pp. 46, 91, 185, 410-414; etc.

<sup>2</sup> D. did not sustain an enviable reputation in later life. He became a minister; divided the church at Pomfret, Conn., and thereby secured a pastorate for himself; but became a drunkard and lost it; died 1802. See D. Hunt, *Hist. of Pomfret, Conn.*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Kendal (H. C. 1782) was president of the Society, 1781-1783 and 1784-1786. Born at Sherburne, Mass., July 11, 1753; carried to Nova Scotia by his father; worked on farms till he could purchase the last two years of his minority; crossing the Bay of Fundy with a friend in a little boat, he made his way to Sherburne; studied under Rev. Elijah Brown; joined the army when the war broke out; entered college when twenty-five; supported himself when there by teaching school at Waltham in the vacation, etc.; was a pastor at Weston from November 5, 1783, till his death, February 15, 1814. See W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. viii. pp. 170-181.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Green (H. C. 1784), born at Waltham in 1704; assistant pastor at Medway for five years from June 25, 1788; at Marblehead; removed to Maine in 1798; was preceptor at Berwick Academy; read law; became a judge, and was U. S. Marshal for the District of Maine; died in 1837. See Jameson, *Hist. of Medway*, pp. 382, 383. He married a daughter of the Rev. Jonas Clarke, of Lexington, in whose house John Hancock and Samuel Adams were the night Paul Revere gave the alarm. Three other daughters married members of the ΦΒΚ Society, the Rev. Dr. Ware (1785), Rev. Dr. Fiske (1785), and the Rev. Dr. Harris (1786).

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D. (H. C. 1778), pastor of the Unitarian church in

Packard<sup>1</sup> of Marlborough; and Dr. Barker,<sup>2</sup> of Hingham, as members of the Society without the usual forms. On account of the Dudleian lecture we adjourn'd the meeting till five o'clock, when we again met, but there being no further business, the meeting was then dissolved. The lecture was preach'd by Dr. Howard.<sup>3</sup> The subject was natural religion and his text was from [blank]. And we also are his offspring. The sermon was replete with sound sense and a wholesome doctrine, as all the sermons that I ever heard from this gentleman have been. In the evening I called at the President's and at Mr. Wigglesworth's, and took their letters for Newbury-Port. Lodg'd at college, with Clarke.

6th. This morning after breakfasting with Mr. Andrews I walk'd leisurely to Boston. Just before I left Cambridge the parts for exhibition were distributed; Charles has a dialogue with Emerson.<sup>4</sup> The circumstance gave me more pleasure than any allotment that I ever had myself. As soon as I arrived in Boston, I immediately went to Court, and found them engaged upon the trial of one John Shehane for burglary. The Attorney General<sup>5</sup> began, in behalf of the Commonwealth. He examined his witnesses and said but little, observing that he should wait to see what defence the counsel for the prisoner had to make. Mr. Wetmore<sup>6</sup> spoke first for the prisoner; at the first outset,

Worcester from February, 1786, until his death, August 19, 1839; first President of the American Unitarian Association (1825-1836).

<sup>1</sup> Asa Packard (H. C. 1783), a brother of J. Q. Adams's classmate, Hezekiah Packard, born in Bridgewater, May, 1758; entered the army at sixteen as a fifer; wounded at Harlem Heights; was a pastor at Marlborough from March 23, 1785, to May 12, 1819, with the exception of a few months at the time when the Unitarian schism occurred; died at Lancaster, March, 1843. He married Nancy Quincy. See *supra*, p. 22; C. Hudson, *Hist. of Marlborough*, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Joshua Barker (H. C. 1772), a physician in Hingham, born March 24, 1753, at Hingham; died April 2, 1800. J. Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, vol. i. pp. 143, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Simeon Howard, D.D. (H. C. 1758), the well-known pastor of the West Church in Boston, who had recently (1785) received the degree of S.T.D. from Edinburgh University. The text was Acts xvii. 28. "Doctor Howard then delivered an excellent sermon [at the installation of Rev. Jonathan Burr at Sandwich] to the general satisfaction; full of candor, benevolence, and piety, with the most liberal sentiments." April 18, 1787, diary of J. Q. Adams.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. William Emerson (H. C. 1789), only son of Rev. William Emerson, of Concord, grandson of Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden; father of Ralph Waldo Emerson; pastor of the First Church in Boston 1799-1811. Later, when a resident of Boston, J. Q. Adams attended this church, and September 13, 1807, his son Charles Francis Adams was baptized by William Emerson, — receiving his first name in remembrance of the Charles Adams mentioned in the text, who was no longer living. See *Memoir in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. pp. 254-258.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Treat Paine of Boston, prosecutor in the Boston Massacre trial in 1770; signer of the Declaration of Independence; etc.

<sup>6</sup> William Wetmore (H. C. 1770), born October 30, 1749, in Middletown, Conn.; for many years an attorney at Salem; since 1785 a "Barrister at Law," residing

he attempted to address the passions of the jury. Mr. Dawes who sat next to me observ'd that this was a bad omen. The pathetic, he said, should always be reserved for the latter part of the plea. A man should gradually grow warm (said he) as he advances in his subject; like a wheel which acquires heat by rolling. The evidence which Mr. Wetmore produced was very favorable to the prisoner. If true, it proved an *alibi*; and it proved likewise that Shebano had bought the articles which he was charged with stealing; but they told so many different stories, and the Attorney General produced such evidence that they were perjured, that I think no stress could be laid upon it. Mr. Tudor<sup>1</sup> spoke much at length in the afternoon; and very ably. Mr. Paine, closed for the Commonwealth, at about seven in the evening. All the Judges<sup>2</sup> (there were four present) appeared to be of opinion that the prisoner was guilty. At half past eight, the jury was pack'd, and the Court adjourn'd for an hour; but the jury had not then agreed upon a verdict; upon which the Court adjourn'd till nine o'clock to-morrow morning. I was so entirely engaged the whole day in hearing this trial, which was very interesting, that I had no time to go any where else. Between ten and eleven at night I carried my bundle to Mr. Colman's,<sup>3</sup>

in 1787 in Boston; later a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas of Suffolk County and, after the reorganization of the courts in 1811, of the middle of the six circuits into which Massachusetts was divided—including Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex counties; he died November 19, 1830, in Boston. W. T. Davis, *Hist. of the Judiciary of Mass.*, pp. 202-204, 220, 295-297, 308; Fleet's *Almanack* for 1787 gives a list of twenty "Barristers at Law" in Massachusetts, of forty-nine "Attornies at Law practising at the Supreme Judicial Court," and of fourteen "Attornies practising at the Common Pleas." Both William Tudor and William Wetmore belonged to this highest order of "Barristers," the qualifications of which are given by W. T. Davis (pp. 295-297).

<sup>1</sup> William Tudor (1750-1810) had studied law under John Adams, and was a classmate and intimate friend of Theophilus Parsons; later, in 1802, he was a colleague of J. Q. Adams as a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in Massachusetts and as a State Senator. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See *Memoir* by his son in 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii. pp. 235-325; also 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi. pp. 149-154; see also John Adams, *Works*, vol. x. p. 432, for a long correspondence from 1816 to 1819 on the history of the Revolution; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 250, 253; etc.

<sup>2</sup> In 1787 there were five justices on the bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts: William Cushing, of Scituate; Nathaniel Penselee Sargeant, of Haverhill; David Sewall, of York; Increase Sumner, of Roxbury; and Francis Dana, of Cambridge; the latter had not sufficiently recovered from his illness to attend. Fleet's *Almanack* for 1787. See *Proceedings*, xiii. 295, 296 for brief sketches of the members of the Court.

<sup>3</sup> A line of stages ran from Casco Bay to Georgia three times a week; the stage for the east left "Col. Colman's adjoining the Mill Bridge," i. e., the bridge on Hanover Street over the Mill Creek which has since been filled in. Fleet's *Almanack* for 1788, etc. See Winsor, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii. p. xiii, for a map.

from whose house the stage sets off, and I took a bed there, in order to be ready to go very early in the morning.

7th. At three in the morning I was roused, and got into the carriage in company with a merchant of Portsmouth, and a sea captain of Newbury-Port, lately arrived from South Carolina. Nothing very interesting occurred in the course of our journey. We dined at Ipswich and reach'd Newbury-Port, between two and three o'clock the afternoon. After taking possession of my room at Mrs. Leathers's, I went to Mr. Parsons's office, where I found Thomson and Townsend.<sup>1</sup> I soon went to see my friend Little, whom I found at Dr. Swett's.<sup>2</sup> I pass'd an hour there, and then went with Little, and deliver'd the chief of the letters with which I was charged. Little came home with me to my lodgings, and pass'd part of the evening with me. As I was up so early in the morning, and was somewhat fatigued with my journey, I retired early to bed.

8th. I arose in the morning quite refresh'd, and immediately after breakfast went and took my station in the office. I began upon the first volume of Robertson's History of Charles the V.<sup>3</sup> which Mr. Parsons recommended as containing an account of the feudal institutions, from which were derived many of the laws which are now established in different parts of Europe. I have already read the book; but thought it would be best to peruse it again. I was no where this day, except at the office and my lodgings. Saturday evening: rather tedious.

<sup>1</sup> Horatio Townsend (H. C. 1783), born in Medfield March 29, 1703; opened his law office there; in 1791 his name appears in the list of attorneys practising at the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; in 1799 he was appointed special justice of the Court of Common Pleas and soon after clerk of the Courts; he was removed by Governor Gerry in 1811; was re-appointed the next year, and held the office till his death, July 10, 1826. His residence was in Dedham. Hurd, Hist. of Norfolk County, p. 15; Tilden, Hist. of Medfield, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. John Barnard Swett (H. C. 1771), descended from one of the original grantees of Newbury, but born at Marblehead June 1, 1752, where his father was a merchant. He was adopted and educated by his great-uncle the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, for whom he was named and who grieved when he failed to become a minister. He studied surgery at Edinburgh for three years under Dr. William Cullen, living there at the time of Hume and Robertson; served as surgeon on an expedition to the Falkland Islands; visited the hospitals of France and England; returned to America in 1778; served as a surgeon in the army under General Sullivan in Rhode Island and in the expedition to the Penobscot, returning from the latter, after the destruction of the fleet, on foot to the Kennebec; settled in Newbury in 1780. He died in August, 1790, in combating an epidemic of yellow fever that was terrorizing the town. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Medical Society; and took a very active interest in the fraternity of Freemasons at Newburyport. James Thacher, American Medical Biography, vol. ii. pp. 106-110 (article signed D. A. T.—is this Dudley Atkins Tyng?). Moses Little was studying medicine in Dr. Swett's office.

<sup>3</sup> The first edition was published in 1769.

9th. I did not attend meeting this day, for several reasons. At home the whole day; it was extremely long and tedious. I amused myself with reading in the first volume of Blair's<sup>1</sup> lectures. I have already perused the work; but I think it deserves a second reading. Retired early to bed, merely from *ennui*.

10th. Attended at the office the whole day. Continued Robertson. Thomson engaged this morning to take the charge of one of the town schools,<sup>2</sup> for a year. It will interfere very much with his attendance at the office. His father,<sup>3</sup> who is very rigid in his religious opinions, and probably entertains an unfavourable idea of the profession of the law, is very averse to his son's engaging in it; and takes every opportunity he can to discourage his son from the study; and it is supposed he took this method among others to draw off his attention from this pursuit. But he will certainly fail in the attempt, and I doubt whether Thomson will keep the school, more than half the year through. In the afternoon we walk'd to Mr. Atkins's, and found Mr. John Tracy<sup>4</sup> with him; we pass'd part of the evening at Mr. Tracy's house. I there met with a French gentleman with whom I convers'd about half an hour. Return'd home between eight and nine in the evening.

11th. Thomson began his attendance upon the school this morning and attended at the office all the leisure time he had. If he should

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres by the Rev. Hugh Blair, D.D., pastor of the High Church in Edinburgh and a lecturer at the University. London, 1783, 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> The North School on Bartlett's Lane, now Winter Street. The building is still standing, having been a dwelling-house since 1826. S. A. Emery, Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian, p. 220; J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," p. 613.

<sup>3</sup> Deacon Thomas Thompson (about forty-five years of age) was a deacon in the church of the Rev. Samuel Spring—the Second Congregational or "North" Church in Newburyport—the one formed in 1709 by the amicable withdrawal of the more orthodox from the "First Religious Society of Newburyport," on the installation of the Rev. Thomas Cary. Samuel Spring, Discourse delivered March 13, 1808, in consequence of the death of Deacon Thomas Thompson; The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Religious Society, pp. 28, 29, etc.

<sup>4</sup> John Tracy (H. C. 1771), in 1787 a man of thirty-four; born April 19, 1753, married in 1775; a Justice of the Peace; an Adjutant-General of the militia; a member of St. John's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, a vestryman in St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church for over thirty-five years; died March 1, 1815. He had seen a brief service in the army under General Sullivan in Rhode Island, and like his brother, Nathaniel Tracy, had prospered as a merchant during the early days of the war and later lost heavily. Yet he still dwelt on aristocratic High Street in one of its finest residences, secured to his children by his father. Judge John Lowell built this house, the duplicate of the "Timothy Dexter House," which stands beside it. Rev. David Tappan, pastor at West Newbury, and Dr. J. B. Swett were his classmates; see *supra*, pp. 12, 30. See Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 548, 577-584. Illustrations of both houses will be found there.



make a practice of this it must necessarily be essentially injurious to his health. I dined this day with Townsend; pass'd the evening at home in reading and writing.

12th. Training day for the alarm list. From sixteen to sixty years the inhabitants of this Commonwealth are subjected to the duties of militia-men. As a student of Harvard University, I shall be exempted for three years, for all the sons of Harvard are considered as students at that seminary untill they commence masters of arts. This forenoon I finish'd the first volume of Robertson's Charles V. and, as I read now in connection with my studies, I shall not proceed with the other volumes. In the afternoon I took up Vattel's <sup>1</sup> Law of Nature and of Nations.

13th. Dined with Dr. Kilham <sup>2</sup> at Mr. Carter's. This is a very friendly, obliging old gentleman, about seventy-three years of age, as I collected from his conversation. He is very sociable, and is a great genealogist. He gave me a much more circumstantial account of my ancestry, for four or five generations back, than I had ever known before; and I am told he can give the same kind of information to almost any body else. He has two sons with him; both I believe between twenty-five and thirty years old and one daughter.<sup>3</sup> One of his daughters was married in the beginning of the summer, to Mr. W. Smith of Boston; and his eldest son proposes to be married in the spring to Miss Eppes Cutts, who has made her appearance heretofore in this journal. Her sister, Miss Nancy Cutts, is now upon a visit at Mr. Carter's, and dined with us. I think she is handsomer, and that her manners are easier

<sup>1</sup> Vattel, *Le droit des gens*, etc. Neufchâtel, 1758.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Daniel Kilham (H. C. 1777), a fellow boarder at Mrs. Leathers's. Born at Wenham, he was prepared for college at Dummer Academy, studied medicine with Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, disliked the work of his profession, and decided to be an apothecary at Newburyport. In 1804 he retired in ill health to his farm in Wenham; died October 12, 1841, aged eighty-eight; was never married. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. See M. O. Allen, *Hist. of Wenham*, pp. 145-148.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Carter married Edward Cutts, brother of Miss Eppes Cutts, April 17, 1796; lived in Portsmouth, N. H.; died in North Hartland, Vt., March 11, 1840, aged seventy-four. Nathaniel Carter, Jr., married Eliza Eppes Cutts May 1, 1788; died in Kennebunk June 10, 1842. His wife was born in Portsmouth, N. H., May 5, 1765, and died in Kennebunk June 23, 1857. Anna Holyoke Cutts, born in November, 1767; died August 30, 1788. C. H. C. Howard, *Genealogy of the Cutts Family*, pp. 42, 43, 79, 80. The younger son of Mr. Carter was probably Mr. Joshua Carter, a ship-owner in Newburyport, who represented the town in the Legislature in 1799, and took an active part in the erection of a new meeting-house for the First Parish Church in 1800. J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 442, 445, 711, 712; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 1741. William Smith (H. C. 1775), son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Storer) Smith, born June 19, 1755, in Boston; married Hannah Carter; died April 6, 1816; a merchant in Boston, having, in 1789, a store on State Street and a house on Court Street; a kinsman of Mrs. Abigail Adams; a brother of Rev. Isaac Smith (see *supra*, p. 20).

than those of her sister. How the comparison might be in mental qualifications I am not able to decide. I was alone this afternoon in the office, as Townsend and Thomson were both gone to see the manœuvres of the four companies of militia of the train band, who were this day forming themselves for soldiers. In the evening I pass'd an hour at Mr. Tufts's. Mrs. Tufts is very unwell.

14th. The weather for this week past has been from day to day alternately very warm and very cold. These sudden transitions, which in this country are very common, are almost too powerful for our constitutions: to foreigners they are almost intolerable, and I believe even the inhabitants, who from their birth have been used to them, suffer more from them than they are aware. This forenoon I received a letter from my friend Forbes, enclosing one for Miss Jones, and in the evening I called and delivered that which was consigned to my care. Mr. Parsons arrived just before dark from Boston, and was the bearer of a short letter from Cranch. The Supreme Court have adjourn'd from Boston till some time in December. *Shehane*, the fellow whose trial I attended, was found guilty, and is now under sentence of death. But all the prisoners who were convicted of treason have received a full and free pardon. Is it much to the credit of our government that a man who has stole 30£ worth of plate should die for the offence, while others commit treason and murder with impunity? <sup>1</sup> I pass'd the evening and supp'd with Townsend. We amused ourselves by playing backgammon. At about ten I retired home.

15th. Dined with Townsend and Thomson at Mr. Parsons's. I finished this day the first volume of Vattel. The first book treats of the duties of a nation with respect to itself: the second of its obligations towards others. His sentiments and principles appear to be dictated by good sense and real virtue. They appear all to derive from that law of nature, which every person of common sense and common honesty must wish to prevail: — Do as you would be done by. Mr. Parsons endeavoured to persuade Thomson to give up his school; he told him it would infallibly either murder his health or his studies; he himself had tried it for two years and it had almost ruin'd him. My trunks at length arrived from Boston, and I shall at least have more

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the exercise of general clemency on the part of Governors Bowdoin and Hancock to those concerned in what is known as Shays's Rebellion. This uprising had been suppressed during the month of February, 1787. The trials of those concerned in it took place during the following March, and fourteen were convicted and sentenced to death. Eight were pardoned, and the remainder reprieved by Governor Bowdoin during his term of office. Governor Bowdoin was succeeded by Governor Hancock in May, 1787, and a final pardon was issued by him on the 12th of September, two days before the date of the entry in the text, covering the cases of nearly all under sentence. See Barry, *Hist. of Mass.*, vol. iii. p. 255; Fiske, *Critical Period*, pp. 183, 184; Minot, *Hist. of the Insurrections in Massachusetts* in 1786, pp. 171-188.

convenience than I have as yet had here. Little pass'd the evening with me at my lodgings; and his company is always agreeable. I received a letter from Braintree. The French fleet have received orders to sail immediately for Brest, and it is added they are enjoined to avoid all English fleets. It is conjectur'd that the affairs in Holland are now arrived at a crisis, and it is not improbable that England and France will support the opposite parties.<sup>1</sup>

16th. I took a walk this morning as far as Dr. Tucker's meeting house;<sup>2</sup> but it was to little purpose, unless the exercise of the walk was sufficiently beneficial to me to compensate my trouble, for Mr. Kimball happened to preach, and delivered the same sermon which I heard him read at Haverhill four weeks ago. As I did not incline to hear the afternoon sermon twice, I attended at Mr. Carey's.<sup>3</sup> This gentleman is a good preacher; but appears extremely indolent. His manner is also far from being graceful. After meeting I went with Dr. Kilham to his shop; and he lent me a number of pieces of good music. He has a very pretty taste in this art, though he does not perform upon any instrument. Just before dark I took a walk with Townsend, and called in at Mr. Atkins's. He himself was not at home; his mother and sister were.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Atkins is a very sensible, agreeable

<sup>1</sup> See Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 78. November 10, 1785, a treaty of alliance was formed between France and Holland, as a result of the enmity which had sprung up between England and Holland during the American war. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary Stadtholder, favored England. September, 1786, as a result of difficulties in Holland, the States deprived the Prince of the military authority. In June, 1787, they arrested the Princess of Orange on the way to the Hague. Her brother, Frederick William II., king of Prussia, interfered; and the day after this entry in the diary (September 16) Utrecht surrendered to the Prussian army without any attempt at defence. Prussia and England guaranteed the hereditary stadtholderate; and, for the moment, English influence became predominant over French influence in the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Tucker's meeting-house was in Newbury, about a mile from Newburyport. It was the first church in the town. See J. J. Currier, *Hist. of Newbury*, pp. 335-344; Rev. John S. Popkin, *Sermons preached May 4 and September 17, 1806*.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Thomas Cary (H. C. 1761), born in Charlestown in 1745, had been the pastor of the first parish in Newburyport for nearly twenty years. This was the church over which the Rev. John Lowell, ancestor of the Lowell family of Massachusetts, had been the first pastor and to which, in the present century, Colonel T. W. Higginson and Rev. R. C. Waterston gave brief periods of service. On the settlement of Mr. Cary, an Arminian and Calvinist schism took place, the church losing a third of its members who were Calvinistically inclined. The legal profession was well represented here—Judge Bradbury, Judge Greenleaf, and Mr. Theophilus Parsons being members of the congregation. See *Anniversary of the Meeting House of the First Religious Society in Newburyport*, October 31, 1901; Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 430-447; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Dudley Atkins (H. C. 1781) changed his name in 1790 to Dudley Atkins Tyng to inherit from Sarah Tyng Winslow an estate in Tyngsborough. In 1787

old lady, whose conversation unites the vivacity of youth with the sound judgment of experienced age. Her daughter appears to be about twenty. She may be more, or less, for near that period of life the countenance retains nearly the same appearance longer, perhaps, than at any other age. She has fine eyes, and a very pleasing symmetry of features; but not an handsome set of teeth. We past about an hour there; Townsend stopp'd at my lodgings, and tarried the remainder of the evening here. I received a couple of letters from Cambridge; one from Packard, and the other from Clarke,<sup>1</sup> who is now a Senior. Retired late.

17th. Three of us in the office were employ'd the whole day in taking copies of the writs which are to be entered at the next Court, which will sit in this town next week. General Freeman<sup>2</sup> pass'd through town this day, and came to visit Mr. Parsons. In the afternoon I took a walk with Little. At home all the evening. Weather very cold.

18th. We had some more writing to do this forenoon. Mr. Parsons went to Exeter, where the Supreme Court for the State of New Hampshire are now sitting. At twelve o'clock, I attended Townsend before Mr. Justice Tracy. One M<sup>c</sup>Intier had prosecuted a Sarah Bayley for defamation in saying that he was a thief. The parties could not agree. They had not their evidence ready, and the Court was adjourned till three o'clock. Townsend and I dined with his worship. Mrs. Tracy<sup>3</sup>

he was twenty-seven years of age and a Justice of the Peace. Descended from Governor Dudley, he had been a tutor in the family of Mrs. Selden of Virginia, and studied law under her brother, Judge Mercer. His father, Dudley Atkins, represented Newburyport in the Legislature at the time of the Stamp Act, but was a royalist; his house, it is said, would have been mobbed except for the presence of mind and tact of his wife, Sarah Kent Atkins. She was left a widow with six children in 1767, struggled many years against poverty, lost one son at sea, and saw two daughters married. Recently she had purchased a house in Newburyport, where she lived with a son and a daughter, Rebecca. She died October 16, 1810. Rebecca Atkins, born March, 1767, died unmarried, June 23, 1842, lived on High Street, and was known as the "friend of all the young people of the town." In 1795 D. A. Tyng was appointed by Washington Collector of the Port of Newburyport, but lost the place under the Jeffersonian régime; is best known as reporter of the decisions of the Massachusetts Supreme Court from 1806 to 1822. See *Memoir* by his friend John Lowell in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii. pp. 280-295; F. H. Atkins, *Joseph Atkins: The Story of a Family*, pp. 57, 87-90; S. A. Emery, *Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian*, pp. 166-168.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Clarke (H. C. 1788) born September 10, 1770, in Boston; entered the law office of John Lowell; died July 5, 1791, at Lancaster.

<sup>2</sup> General Nathaniel Freeman, of Sandwich, a well-known Revolutionary patriot and versatile man, student of medicine and of law, distinguished as a physician, an orator, and a soldier, Brigadier-General of the militia of Barnstable County from 1781 to 1793. His son Nathaniel was a classmate of J. Q. Adams. See *supra*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> John Tracy married Margaret Laughton May 2, 1775. She was born May 12, 1755, and died November 9, 1806. Currier, "Old Newbury," p. 579. See also p. 581 for the opinion of the Marquis de Chastellux.

is an agreeable woman, still handsome, but with her share of vanity. At three o'clock the Court was again opened: the parties had agreed to compromise the matter, and Bayley is to pay the costs. Neither of them, I believe, could be easily defamed, but had the case been tried I suspect the plaintiff would have recovered damages. After this weighty affair was brought to a conclusion, I took a walk with the Squire and Townsend about three miles out of town, to one Sohier's, where we eat a couple of fine muskmelons; it was dark before we got back to Mr. Tracy's. We stopp'd there and play'd backgammon about two hours; after which Townsend and I returned to our homes.

19th. The equinoctial storm, which has been gathering in the heavens for a week past, has now appeared with all its violence and rage. Stedman arrived in town last evening, and has attended in the office this day. He brought me no letters from Cambridge, but left all friends well. We had a violent debate in the office, between Stedman and Townsend, upon a point of law. The contest began by a difference of opinion between Townsend and me. Stedman was on my side of the question, and the dispute soon center'd in them; books were produced and authorities brought which both parties declared to be plump in their favour respectively. Townsend at last finding three against him, (for Thomson had sided likewise) got out of patience, and hinted to us that we could not understand the meaning of the terms, as we had been so short a time in the office; so we left him to battle it with Stedman. An appeal was agreed upon to Mr. Parsons. Townsend, however, after shifting his ground several times at length discovered that there was nothing in the case but a misunderstanding of words, and appears at present to give up the point. But he is fond of these debates, and fonder of his own opinion. Thomson did not appear in the afternoon; this, however, was quite peaceable. The weather was such as rendered a fire in the office very comfortable. I was at home all the evening, reading Rousseau's confessions.<sup>1</sup> This is the most extraordinary book I ever read in my life.

20th. I expected this morning when I waked up to hear the winds whistle and the tempests roar; but all was still and calm; the storm was violent but short. We were pretty still this day at the office; but four at a time is certainly too many. Some one or other of us is talking almost all the time, and consequently reading does not proceed rapidly. Little came and pass'd half an hour with me in the evening; but was engaged for the remainder of it. I copied some extracts, and wrote a letter.

21st. Quite still in the office this day. I read a good deal. This afternoon Amory arrived; and thus we are all five here. I called at Mr. Carter's and desired him to take charge of a letter to W.

<sup>1</sup> First edition, Geneva, 1782.

Cranch. I pass'd an hour or two with Mr. Tufts. A very beautiful evening.

22d. This forenoon I finish'd Vattel. The third book treats of War, and the fourth of Peace; much in the same manner as he treats the other parts of his subject. "Honesty is the best policy" says nature; and so says Vattel. Mr. Parsons returned from Exeter before dinner. I intended to have gone to Haverhill this afternoon, to spend the Sunday there; but the weather was such as threatened a storm, and I gave up my plan. I went up with Townsend, Stedman, Amory and Stacey<sup>1</sup> to Sohler's tavern about three miles out of town, where we had some fine melons. We return'd in the dark. I pass'd the evening, and supp'd with Townsend.

23d. Attended upon Mr. Carey the whole day. His manner is not very agreeable; but his stile is much better than common. Townsend called here in the evening. Amory set off this morning for Boston. They say it is impossible for him to stay three days at a time in one place. He has been absent six or eight months and promised Mr. Parsons some time ago that he would come, and be very steady all through the winter. He arrived here on Friday, has not yet been ten minutes together at the office, and now is gone again. He is gone however upon business, and intends to return to-morrow.

24th. Townsend went to Topsfield to hear a cause tried before a justice. Stedman has been hunting all over the neighbourhood for his horse, who disappeared on Saturday. Thomson has a whole week respite from his school; but did not come to the office in the afternoon. I was there alone. Amory return'd from Boston between four and five, and at about six set off for Exeter. To-morrow he goes to Portsmouth and Wednesday morning he intends to be here again. Amidst the noise of the office, which was greater than usual because this is the last day before the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas in this town, I made out however to read about eighty pages of Blackstone's Introduction, and making a few extracts. I copied others in the evening till quite late, and at this moment my fingers are so fatigued with writing that I positively must throw by my pen.

25th. I have given up all pretences to study any more this week. The Court of Common Pleas sits here; and I shall attend that. It was near one o'clock this day before they met, and then they immediately adjourn'd till the afternoon. I was there after dinner. Nothing was done but calling over the actions. Judge Greenleaf<sup>2</sup> gave a very

<sup>1</sup> George Stacey (H. C. 1784), born in Ipswich; studied law; died 1808.

<sup>2</sup> Judge Benjamin Greenleaf (H. C. 1751), born in Newburyport March 19, 1732; died January 13, 1799. Before and during the Revolutionary War, a member of the Executive Council; now, 1787, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County. He was the father-in-law of Theophilus Parsons. E. V.

short charge to the grand jury, in which he observed to them that frequently persons were charged, by malicious enemies, of crimes whereof they were entirely innocent; and he recommended to them to be upon their guard, so as not to be deceived by false accusations of that nature. The Court adjourned by five o'clock. I went and took a walk with Mr. Symmes<sup>1</sup> and Townsend. Symmes was sworn in at the Court of Common Pleas this time last year; but has not, I believe, an immediate prospect of making his fortune in the profession. I was with Townsend at his lodgings till between seven and eight o'clock. Mr. Bradbury<sup>2</sup> this afternoon told me a piece of news which shock'd me exceedingly, — that S. W. was rusticated; and for a crime which is the more infamous because it can be attributed neither to youthful levity nor to the extravagance of ebriety.

26th. Attended Court the whole day. Little was done in the forenoon except calling over the cases. But in the afternoon, a cause was tried by jury, between one Smith and James Brown. Smith had attached certain lands as the estate of Brown's father, to satisfy a debt due to him: Brown claim'd those lands as his property, and produced in court two deeds, by which his father had made over the lands to him. The question to be tried by the jury was, whether those deeds were valid, or whether they were given merely to evade the payment of the father's debts, and in order to secure himself a maintenance during the remainder of his life. Mr. Parsons, for the plaintiff, proved that for the real estate of the father, which at that time was assessed at £450, James had only allowed him about 230, and that the chief of this

Smith, *Hist. of Newburyport*, p. 347; J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 332, 455; J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, pp. 65, 150, 426-428, etc.; W. T. Davis, *Hist. of the Judiciary of Mass.*, p. 130.

<sup>1</sup> William Symmes (H. C. 1780) had been a law student with Mr. Parsons. The son of the Rev. William Symmes, D.D., pastor of the church at North Andover, he was born May 28, 1700; died in Portland January, 1807; never married. On November 15 of this year (1787) the young lawyer wrote his well-known letter to Peter Osgood, voicing the opposition to the Federal Constitution, and yet asking for it a candid consideration. His reasoning against the Constitution secured him an election to the Massachusetts Convention, and he was there one of the ablest and most interesting opponents of its adoption in its existing form. After the introduction of amendments subsequently, by Governor Hancock, Mr. Symmes withdrew his opposition, and, unlike his colleagues, voted for the Constitution. North Andover did not follow his lead, became strongly anti-federal, and, it is said, made life uncomfortable for him, so that he removed to Portland as early as 1790. See speeches of January 22 and February 6, 1787, in Elliot, *Debates*, vol. ii. pp. 70-75, 172-174; Memorial Discourse by the Hon. Nathan Hazen; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1579-1581, 1667, 1675-1677; Abiel Abbot, *Hist. of Andover*, p. 149; J. A. Vinton, *Symmes Memorial*, pp. 69-81.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Theophilus Bradbury, whose son George Bradbury was a student in Harvard College. S. W. was for some years a teacher in Vermont; died at the age of seventy-nine in an insane asylum.

was by paying debts for which he had been previously bound with his father. Mr. Sullivan,<sup>1</sup> for the defendant, endeavoured to show that such deductions were to be made from this estate as would reduce it to about 280£, and that some other charges ought to be added to what James had allowed his father, which would make his contract quite equitable. The pleadings were very interesting, and it was after seven in the evening before the case was given to the jury. The Court then adjourned till the morning, at nine o'clock.

27th. The jury upon the case of Smith and Brown gave their verdict in favour of the plaintiff, and declared the deeds fraudulent. The next jury case which came on was between William Bartlett and Daniel Dodge, both of this town. Dodge, who is a mason, engaged to build and plaister a brick house for Bartlett<sup>2</sup> at a certain price, in the year

<sup>1</sup> James Sullivan, forty-three years of age, a Barrister at Law resident in Boston, had resigned a place on the bench of the Supreme Court to practise his profession, and was already well known as a member of the Legislature, of the Executive Council, and of the Congress of the Confederation. Later he was Attorney-General (1790-1807) and Governor of Massachusetts (1807-1808). In 1793, when the question of the neutrality between England and France, the guarantee of the West India Islands, the reception of Genêt, and the revocation of the exequatur of Consul Duplaine were being agitated, J. Q. Adams wrote two series of essays in the Boston "Centinel" under the signatures of Marcellus and Columbus. James Sullivan, then Attorney-General, replied in the "Chronicle" under the signatures of Junius and Americanus. J. Q. Adams retorted under the signature of Barneveldt; and the highly controversial papers of Americanus and of Barneveldt often appeared in the same issue. Attorney-General Sullivan was not offended by this sharp criticism, but, on the contrary, employed the young and waiting lawyer in several cases. Their support of Jefferson's embargo policy produced political as well as personal friendliness between the two, when J. Q. Adams was a Senator and James Sullivan, Governor of Massachusetts; when Governor Sullivan died, J. Q. Adams was requested by the family to prepare an obituary notice, which appeared in the "Chronicle" on the day of the funeral, and has been reprinted by T. C. Amory in his *Life of James Sullivan*, vol. ii. pp. 320-325. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28, 502, 542; T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, vol. i. pp. 288-290; vol. ii. p. 318. James Sullivan was the first president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. pp. 252-254; also T. C. Amory, vol. ii. p. 157. See *infra*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> William Bartlett (1748-1841), from a poor boy apprenticed to learn a trade, was, at forty, one of the wealthiest merchants and ship-owners in Newburyport. A man of an iron constitution and of a sturdy and unyielding Calvinism, as "a matter of conscience" strictly demanding "from the poor as well as rich, a prompt compliance with contracts," he was a munificent donor to Andover Theological Seminary, and was even ready to release freely a promising apprentice like Patrick Tracy Jackson that he might better his fortunes by a voyage to India. E. V. Smith, *History of Newburyport*, pp. 349-351; J. J. Currier, "Old Newbury," pp. 162, 709-712. Mr. Eben F. Stone, at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Newbury (p. 100), noted that Newburyport at this time possessed two classes of rich men, — Dalton, Hooper, Tracy, Jackson, John Coffin Jones, men of wealth and of education, living in ease and elegance



1778. In the course of his doing the work the paper currency depreciated considerably, and the question now is whether Dodge is to be held to the original sum, or whether the monies he received at different times is to be reduced by the scale of depreciation at those times. Parsons was for the plaintiff, Bradbury<sup>1</sup> for the defendant. Parsons, in the midst of his plea, broke off and proposed to leave the matter to a reference. The parties agreed; and the jury, after being employ'd four or five hours upon this cause, were entitled only to half-fees. However, they were probably gainers by the circumstance, for the case was so difficult and intricate that they would have found it very difficult to agree upon a verdict.

After this was over two negroes and two white men were arraigned for different thefts. All of them pleaded guilty; and were sentenced to whipping, hard labour, &c. At about dusk the Court adjourned to nine in the morning. I dined at Mr. Tufts's. Thomson, Little, and Putnam passed the evening with me. Putnam came to apply again for admission into Mr. Parsons's office. There was a bar meeting this evening, and the matter was to be laid before them. I saw Mr. Thaxter after the meeting was over, but he would not tell me what their determination was.

28th. I learnt this day that the bar determined last evening to abide by the rule which they had adopted some years ago, which was that there should not be more than three students in an office at once. Putnam therefore cannot be received by Mr. Parsons. I understand he has this day applied to Mr. Bradbury, who will receive him immediately. Court sat all day, but finally adjourn'd this afternoon, till next April, when they will sit at Ipswich. There was one trial by jury this forenoon. It was between Parson Murray,<sup>2</sup> of this town, and

on the hillside; Bartlett, Brown, Coombs, Marquand, etc., the new rich of that day, building their homes within sight of their wharves and storehouses.

<sup>1</sup> Theophilus Bradbury (H. C. 1757), Barrister at Law and Justice of the Peace and the Quorum, resident at Newburyport; later member of Congress (1795-1797) and Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (1797-1803). Theophilus Parsons had studied law in his office in Falmouth (*i. e.* Portland) before it was burnt by the British; after that both men returned to Newburyport.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Murray was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, formed in response to the preaching of George Whitefield. This case in the law court was an incident in a long struggle of over fifty years. In 1749 Jonathan Parsons, then pastor, complained in a letter to Elisha Williams in London that for refusing to "pay taxes to ministers on whose ministry they never attend, they were 'dragged about upon the ground,' 'dressed up in bearskins and worried,' were thrown upon carts, hauled through streets, and imprisoned with a — 'Lie there till you have paid the utmost farthing.'" By 1784 the question was settled so far as the inhabitants of Newburyport were concerned. But non-residents did not have so clear a case. Their rights depended here upon the interpretation of the third article of the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of 1780, which provided "that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other

the inhabitants of Salisbury. One of the people of Salisbury attended always at Mr. Murray's meeting, but was assessed in his own town: the question was whether his tax should be paid to Mr. Murray, or whether it should go to the support of the minister of Salisbury. The jury brought in a verdict in favour of Mr. Murray. A similar case has two or three times been determined in the same manner, I think very improperly; and so thinks Mr. Parsons. In the afternoon a man was convicted of stealing a couple of sheep, for which he was fined thirty shillings. Parsons said in England he would have been hung; but I a little doubt. I dined at Mr. Carter's, Mr. and Mrs. Smith from Boston were there. Mr. Smith brought me a letter from W. Cranch, which gives me an account of the rustication of W. The circumstances are much to his disgrace. I had likewise a letter from my father,<sup>1</sup> and one from my mother, of the 18th & 20th of July. Some letters are yet remaining. Little was with me about half an hour this evening.

29th. I attended at the office the whole day, and resumed Blackstone, whom for three or four days I had laid aside. I did not, however, read a great deal. In the evening I took something of a long walk with Townsend; and as I return'd stopp'd to sup upon the birds, which Amory and Stacey had been hunting for in the course of the day. There were three other gentlemen there, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Winslow, and a Captain Cochran. We got to singing after supper, and the bottle went around with an unusual rapidity, untill a round dozen had disappeared. I then thought it was high time to retreat, and with some difficulty slip'd away from those of the company who appeared to be the most inspired, and took a walk with Townsend; it was after one in the morning when we got to my lodgings. After setting there about an hour and smoking a pipe or two, we both went to bed.

30th. Although I had not last night been guilty of an excess so far as to be intoxicated, yet I had not sufficiently consulted what my feelings would be this day to be entirely prudent. I therefore arose this morning with a very disagreeable head-ache, which continued the whole

bodies politic or religious societies shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers and contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends. Otherwise it may be paid toward the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which said moneys are raised." This question arose again in 1796 as to some inhabitants of Newbury who attended church in Newburyport, and it was then settled by a legislative act in their favor. J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 508-517; History of Newbury, pp. 381-384; H. C. Hovey, Origin and Annals of the Old South First Presbyterian Church, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>1</sup> John Adams was in London as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James.

day. I could neither attend meeting nor read, nor write; and pass'd the day with much tediousness. In the evening, however, I took a walk with Townsend; and, after returning, pass'd an hour at Mr. Tufts's.

Monday, October 1st, 1787.

I have not yet got over the consequences of our frolick on Saturday evening. Three whole evenings I have by this means entirely lost; for I cannot yet write with any comfort. How inseparably in all cases of intemperance is the punishment allied to the fault! Stedman went this day for Portsmouth; will return here to-morrow, and take his final leave on Wednesday. He is going to open an office at Cambridge, where I heartily wish him success. In the afternoon I went with Townsend and Thomson and Little up to Sohler's, and had the usual fare. We return'd leisurely in the evening. I was too much fatigued to write much; having, withal, a little of the head ache. Putnam arrived in town this afternoon, and, I suppose, will enter Mr. Bradbury's office immediately. I shall find, I believe, very much the want of Mr. Parsons's presence, when he goes off. His attendance upon the Gen'l Court will engross his time very much. Next week he will go to Boston, and will be gone, I suppose, nearly two months. There are a thousand questions which I shall want to propose to him, from time to time; but which I shall be reduced to find out by my own industry and what assistance Townsend and Amory can give me.

2d. I have at length recovered my usual tone, and have been able this day to attend to business with as much satisfaction as common. Stedman came back from Portsmouth this afternoon. In the evening I carried a packet of letters to his lodgings for Cambridge. I began to copy off not a small volume of forms for declarations. This is a piece of drudgery which certainly does not carry its reward with it. But it is a necessary piece of work, for which reason I think the sooner it is finished, the better. I was in hopes before I came here, that I should have time for reading books of entertainment; but, after passing eight hours a day in the office, and spending four more in writing minutes and forms at home, I am not husband of time sufficient to set any more apart for any kind of mental application. And indeed if for three years I can proceed with as much industry as I have done since I entered the office, the d—l will be to pay if I have not some stock of law. Health is all I shall ask.

3d. Continued in the first volume of Blackstone. In the course of my reading this day I came across a paragraph which surprized me; it was this:—“It is a principle of *universal law*, that the natural-born subject of one prince, cannot by any act of his own, no, not by swearing allegiance to another, put off or discharge his natural allegiance to the former: for this natural allegiance was intrinsic and primitive, and

antecedent to the other, and cannot be devested without the concurrent act of that prince to whom it was first due." I enquired of Mr. Parsons his opinion upon the subject. He said that if instead of universal law it was *common law*, the assertion would be just; but that, in his opinion, by the law of nature every man had a right to put off his natural allegiance, for good cause. And this I think much more reasonable than to say that a man is obliged to serve and assist his sovereign, however cruel, tyrannical and unjust he may be. The doctrine of Blackstone must, I think, imply that of passive obedience; which is not now to be refuted. It may indeed be said that every unjust act is a tacit consent to the discharge of the subject's allegiance; but this is straining the meaning of words a great length; and I think it is much the best to cut the gordian knot, as Mr. Parsons did.<sup>1</sup> I wrote along in the evening till late.

4th. I this day concluded the first volume of my author; and employ'd all the afternoon in copying from it, under heads. As Parsons goes to Boston next week, and will stay there so long that I shall probably finish the book I am now reading before he returns, I enquired of him, what would be best to take up next. He recommended, Sullivan's lectures,<sup>2</sup> then Wright's tenures,<sup>3</sup> and then Coke-Littleton.<sup>4</sup> This evening I was at Mr. Tufts's; present at the marriage of his daughter Dolly to Mr. Geo. Odiorne of Exeter.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Cary perform'd the ceremony. I staid there to supper, but came away soon after that, as I spent my time rather tediously. Mercy Brooks<sup>6</sup> from Medford was there: she is one of the very few unmarried women with whom I can

<sup>1</sup> See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. iv. pp. 146, 147, for an application of this principle by him, as Secretary of State in President Monroe's Cabinet.

<sup>2</sup> Francis S. Sullivan (University of Dublin), *Lectures on the Constitution and Laws of England*, etc., London, 1776, 2 vols. — a second edition, revised and enlarged, of a work published in 1770, and entitled "An Historical Treatise on the Feudal Law and the Constitution and Laws of England," etc.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Martin Wright, *Introduction to the Law of Tenures*, London, 1730.

<sup>4</sup> The first edition of Coke's *Commentaries upon Littleton* was published in 1628. Accordingly it had been a legal text-book for one hundred and sixty years at the time of this entry. As the standard elementary treatise in the hands of students of law, the Institutes were not superseded until the publication of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in 1765-1769.

<sup>5</sup> "Dorothy Tufts, eldest daughter of Dr. Samuel Tufts of Newburyport," born March 22, 1767; married George Odiorne, "engaged in trade" at Exeter, N. H.; died September 8, 1798. Later Odiorne removed to Boston, was a bank president nine years, an alderman in 1823 and 1824; and one of fifteen to assume responsibility for the erection of Park Street Church; died in Malden December 1, 1846. J. C. Odiorne, *Genealogy of the Odiorne Family*, pp. 74-83. "Mr. Samuel Tufts" was on the Committee of Correspondence and Safety appointed in 1774. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 1744.

<sup>6</sup> Mercy Brooks, born September 3, 1763; married, March 6, 1788, Cotton Tufts, only son of Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Weymouth. See *supra*, p. 10, note 1; Usher, *Hist. of Medford*, pp. 528, 564, 565.

be sociable after a short acquaintance: whether it is owing to some peculiarity of circumstances or of character, I know not; but the fact I am sure of. . . .

5th. After writing a few lines in my common place book, I took the second volume of Blackstone, which treats of the rights of things. I did not read much, and with the extracts which I make I shall not be able to proceed with very rapid progress. Thomson, notwithstanding he keeps schools, holds an equal pace with me. However he reads in the evening, while I am employ'd in copying off the forms. This he has already done, having been more than four months in the office. I dined at Mr. Tufts's. The new married pair appeared quite calm and composed. In the afternoon, before it grew dark, I went down with Thomson, and found Putnam; with him we went to Dr. Swett's and found Little. From thence we retired very abruptly, and went home with Moses. We spent the evening there and supped, after which we all returned respectively to our homes. Here I sat a few minutes with Dr. Kilham, my very worthy fellow boarder, and then retired to my room, where, what with copying forms, and what with relating the business of the day, I have almost brought it to one in the morning.

6th. I alter'd my plans of study, and determined to copy forms in the day time, because I can do it notwithstanding all the noise that may be going forward in the office, and read at my own lodgings. I extract a great deal, and am almost tired with it, but Mr. Parsons advises me by all means not to give it up. In the evening I received a long letter from my sister,<sup>1</sup> and likewise one from W. Cranch.

7th. I attended at Mr. Carey's meeting all day. In the forenoon he was quite severe upon all persons who either did not attend divine services so steadily as they might, or who, being at the house of the Lord, do not behave with proper decorum and respect. No person, said Mr. Carey, who is going into the presence of an earthly prince, will appear in a loose, neglected attire, as it would be considered as a mark of contempt, and as an insult to the dignity of the sovereign. Hence he deduced the necessity of a serious, devout, attentive mind, at times when we go more immediately into the presence of God. His conclusion, were it placed as a distinct proposition, no one I presume would deny; but his perfectly stale and hackney'd allusion is in my opinion not only false, but impious. I would ask Mr. Carey, why it is necessary to appear with such an accurate precision of dress at the Court of an earthly prince? What other cause can be assigned for the impor-

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Abigail Adams Smith, only sister of J. Q. Adams, two years his senior; born July 14, 1766; married June 12, 1786, Colonel William Stephens Smith, who, a stranger to the family, had been chosen by Congress as Secretary of Legation when John Adams was sent as Minister to England in 1785; she died August 15, 1813. John Adams, Works, vol. iii. p. 398; vol. viii. pp. 229, 423; A. N. Adams, A Genealogical History of Henry Adams, etc., p. 407.

tance of a thing so very indifferent in itself, but the ridiculous vanity and fantastic foppery of the great? It is impossible to deduce an argument from similarity of effect, unless a like similarity of cause exists, and in this case the supposition is not to be made. In short, if our preachers in general would not take so much pains as they do to prove facts which no man in his senses can deny, they would save themselves much exertion of thought, without injuring their reputations. In the evening I went with Dr. Kilham, and past an hour or two at Mr. Carter's; the family are all of them exceedingly agreeable. Miss H. Emery<sup>1</sup> was there, a young lady with a beautiful countenance, an elegant person, and (I am told) an amiable mind. What more could any person wish to find in a female? a fortune?—ah! can a vile metal drag'd by the hands of slavery from the bowels of the earth be put in competition with charms like those? The wretch who could harbour the idea deserves to be barred forever from the pleasures of friendship and of love.

8th. Attended at the office, and wrote diligently all day. Cold weather coming on apace. Thomson and I had some conversation before we left the office at night. He is in low spirits, and sees gloomy prospects. I hope he will realize more happy ones, for he is an amiable, worthy youth, with a clear head and a sound heart. From the office we went to Putnam's lodgings. There Sam and I play'd together, he on the violin, I on the flute, for a couple of hours; after which we sat with him till nine o'clock and then respectively retired. I sought my bed quite early this evening. I cannot study now much in my own room for want of a fire.

9th. I received a short letter from W. Cranch. I make a pretty rapid progress with my book of forms, and, if I am not interrupted, I hope to finish it by the latter end of next week, which will take one heavy load from my shoulders. Putnam came to our office this afternoon; he and Little pass'd the evening with me. I intended to walk with Little, but found it was raining hard. I proceed very slowly with Blackstone.

<sup>1</sup> Hannah Tracy Emery, descended, it is claimed, from Governor Thomas Dudley, belonged to the Newbury branch of the Emery family; born at Exeter, N. H., March 7, 1771. Her father, John Emery, was lost at sea during this year (1787); her grandfather, Noah Emery, for many years clerk of the House of Assembly and of the court in New Hampshire, died the following January (1788). A girl of "sweet sixteen," she was living with her mother in Newburyport. Four years later (November 1, 1791), she married Benjamin Abbot (H. C. 1788), for fifty years principal of Phillips Exeter Academy. She died December 6, 1793, leaving one son, John Emery Abbot (born August 6, 1793, graduated from Bowdoin College in 1810, succeeded Dr. Barnard as pastor of the North Church in Salem in 1815, died unmarried, October 7, 1819; a volume of his sermons has been printed, with a memoir by Dr. Henry Ware, Jr.). Rufus Emery, *Genealogical Records of Descendants of John and Anthony Emery, etc.*, pp. 323, 349, 406; Abiel Abbot, etc., *Register of the Abbot Family*, pp. 4, 5.

10th. A very fine day. Amory and Townsend with a number of other lads went out of town this afternoon upon a party. But I did not feel disposed to join them. Thomson spent part of the evening with me.

11th. This afternoon I took a ride with Dr. Kilham, as far as Newtown to see Mr. Dalton, but neither he nor his lady were at home. We rode a mile or two beyond that, and returned just after dark. That road is very good and the prospects all around are very beautiful; but the leaves begin to fall, and the year appears to proceed rapidly on a decline. Amory was with me part of the evening.

12th. The day pass'd as usual, except that I had some political chat with Mr. Parsons. He favours very much the Federal Constitution, which has lately been proposed by the Convention of the States. Nor do I wonder at all that he should approve of it, as it is calculated to increase the influence, power and wealth of those who have any already. If the Constitution be adopted it will be a grand point gained in favour of the aristocratic party. There are to be no titles of nobility; but there will be great distinctions, and those distinctions will soon be hereditary, and we shall consequently have nobles, but no titles. For my own part I am willing to take my chance under any government whatever; but it is hard to give up a system which I have always been taught to cherish, and to confess that a free government is inconsistent with human nature.

13th. Captain Wyer<sup>1</sup> was in the office this afternoon, a couple of hours; very zealous for the new Constitution. Was desirous of having a town-meeting to instruct their representatives upon the occasion; quite enthusiastic, and so are many other people. This afternoon I went, and requested the favor of waiting upon Miss Jones to the ball next Monday; she will go if her health will permit. Little pass'd the evening with me. There was a very brilliant northern light.

14th. I wrote two long letters this day. One to J. Forbes, and the other to W. Cranch. Went with Putnam in the afternoon to Mr. Tucker's meeting; and was much pleased with the doctor's preaching. Putnam spent an hour or two with me after meeting.

15th. Rather dissipated the whole day. Could not study with proper attention, and indeed gave the matter up in the afternoon. At about seven o'clock we met at the dancing hall, and from that time till between three and four in the morning we were continually dancing. I was unacquainted with almost all the company; but I never saw a collection of ladies where there was comparatively so much beauty. Two or three gentlemen got rather over the bay; but upon the whole

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Captain William Wyer, a shipmaster, — one of the six founders of the Marine Society of Newburyport in 1772 to promote the shipping interests and to assist needy shipmasters; died August 14, 1810, aged seventy-five. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 1751; Currier, "Old Newbury," p. 710.

the proceedings were as regular and agreeable as might be expected. Little lodg'd with me, and the clock struck four just before we went to bed.

16th. We rose at about nine o'clock. Dr. Kilham was just going to take his seat in the stage for Boston. The Dr. represents this town in the Gen'l Court and goes to Boston now to attend at the session, which opens to-morrow. I was at the office in the forenoon, but could not attend much to any study. I took a walk with Townsend. Return'd again to the office, and, just as I had got ready to sit down to business, in came W. Cranch and Leonard White from Haverhill, who insisted upon it that I should go there with them this afternoon; and in such a positive manner that I could not deny them. They dined with me at my lodgings, and, at about four in the afternoon, we all mounted our horses for Haverhill. The wind was very high, and scattered the dust so much that the riding was very disagreeable. We drank tea at Russell's and were almost half an hour crossing the river, though the wind had considerably abated. At about seven we got to Mr. Shaw's house. Miss N. Quincy and Miss B. Cranch<sup>1</sup> came in from Mr. Duncan's soon after. Mr. James Duncan<sup>2</sup> invited W. Cranch and me to dine with him to-morrow. The troop of horse of which he is 1st lieutenant are to parade in the morning, and he makes an entertainment for them. It was past eleven this evening when we retired.

17th. This day a regiment of foot and a troop of about sixty horsemen paraded and were review'd by Gen'l Titcomb.<sup>3</sup> The weather was

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Cranch, cousin of J. Q. Adams, daughter of Richard and Mary (Smith) Cranch, of Braintree; baptized November 27, 1763; married, February 11, 1780, Rev. Jacob Norton, of Weymouth (see *infra*, p. 127); died January 25, 1811. Nash, *Hist. Sketch of Weymouth*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> James Duncan, Jr., brother-in-law of John Thaxter, First Lieutenant of the Second Troop of Horse in Essex County; in business with his father James Duncan; became one of the leading merchants of Haverhill. He established a store, potash-works, and a mill for grinding flaxseed at Lebanon, N. H., and it is said that in a period of twenty-six months he sent thither by ox teams for the country trade ninety thousand dollars worth of goods. He died in 1822, when over sixty years of age; his wife was Rebecca White. Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, pp. 452, 628; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. xlvii, 2003; Fleet's *Almanack* for 1788.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Titcomb, Major-General of the militia of Essex County; in 1787 a man of about sixty; prominent in town and State during the War of the Revolution; selectman 1773-1775, 1777-1778, 1780, 1786, 1788; moderator of town-meetings 1778, 1779, 1781, 1786, 1787; Representative in the General Court 1778-1783, 1786; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1780, and to the Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States; his military experience had been gained in the militia and as colonel of a regiment in the brief campaigns of 1777, 1778 under General Sullivan in Rhode Island. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1730-1741, 1753. In 1780 General Washington appointed him naval officer of the district of Newburyport; he died March 10, 1817.



rather disagreeable, though not so windy as it was yesterday. One of the foot companies was dressed in the rifle uniform; that of the horse was red faced with green. The horses in general were good, but the company has not been formed long, and are not yet perfect in their exercises. We dined at Mr. Duncan's. I chatted with Mr. Symmes upon the new Constitution. We did not agree upon the subject. While we were talking Mr. Bartlett came in, and was beginning to attack me. I told him I wish'd to change the subject, as I felt utterly unequal to the task of opposing two persons of whose judgment I had so high an opinion as Mr. Symmes and Mr. Bartlett. Bartlett laugh'd and said I was very polite. "Adams," says Symmes, "you shall go home with me, and take a bed to-night";—and I found that France is not the only country where *Yorick's secret* has its influence.<sup>1</sup> We walk'd up the hill where the regiment was parading in the afternoon; but the weather was so cold that I return'd back some time before they finish'd. The General was dressed and mounted rather shabbily: he has never been employed in military life; and nobody knows how he came to be a major-general. Pass'd part of the evening at Mr. White's; found Mr. Allen<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Tucker at Mr. Shaw's: they staid till about nine o'clock, and then return'd to Bradford.

18th. We dined this day at Mr. Bartlett's. Captain Wier was there and Miss S. McKinsty,<sup>3</sup> who is upon the point of being married to Major Starke,<sup>4</sup> and Miss Barrell, a young lady from Boston whose countenance indicates misfortune. She had a lover, who forsook her upon discovering that she had not a fortune, as he had expected. Townsend came into town yesterday with Miss P. Greenleaf, and return'd this afternoon to Newbury. The young ladies drank tea at Judge Sargeant's. I spent the evening till between eight and nine o'clock at Mr. White's. I had in the course of the day, and have had

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the two chapters in the second volume of Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," entitled "The Riddle" and "The Riddle Explained." "I stepped hastily after him: it was the very man whose success in asking charity of the woman before the door of the hotel had so puzzled me,—and I found at once his secret, or at least the basis of it:—it was flattery."

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Jonathan Allen (H. C. 1774), born in Braintree February 16, 1748–9; ordained at Bradford June 5, 1781; died March 6, 1827. J. D. Kingsbury, Memorial Hist. of Bradford, pp. 106–117.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah McKinsty, daughter of Dr. William McKinsty, surgeon-general of the British hospitals at Boston in 1776, formerly of Taunton; married Major Stark in 1787; died September 11, 1839, aged seventy-two.

<sup>4</sup> Major Caleb Stark, eldest son of Major-General John Stark, then (1787) twenty-eight years of age and a merchant in Haverhill. Running away from home when a lad of fifteen, he joined his father in the army on the eve of the Battle of Bunker Hill, and served throughout the War of Independence. See C. Stark, Memoir and Official Correspondence of General John Stark, pp. 344–371; Appleton, Cyclopædia of American Biography.

every day since I came here, a great deal of conversation with Mr. Shaw concerning S. W., who still persists in declaring himself innocent, though every one who is acquainted with the circumstances must be as fully convinced of his guilt, as if he had seen him do the deed himself. Mr. Shaw was much afflicted. He had great expectations from W., who had been his pupil, and whose reputation would in some measure have reflected honour upon his instructor; but "how art thou fallen, Lucifer, son of the morning!"

19th. W. Cranch and the two young ladies set off this morning for Boston. The weather is much milder for them than it has been for several days past. I spent the forenoon with Mr. Thaxter at his office. He is to be published next Sunday. Dined at Mr. Shaw's. Just after dinner Mrs. Allen<sup>1</sup> came in from Bradford, and inform'd us of Deacon Smith's death.<sup>2</sup> He died on Tuesday morning. The news came by Dr. Williams, who lodg'd at Bradford last night. Between three and four I set out to return home, and overtook F. Bradbury<sup>3</sup> and Winslow in a chaise going the same way. At about half past five I got home; and went and pass'd the evening with Townsend. Amory is quite unwell; return'd this day from Portsmouth.

20th. I was more attentive at the office than I expected to be between two follies. I had determined before I went to Haverhill, not to go so far as Boston till the spring; but I have now altered my resolutions, and shall go from hence next Monday, for a fortnight. This is not the way to acquire the science of the law, but dissipation is so fashionable here that it is necessary to enter into it a little in order not to appear too singular; and as Mr. Parsons will probably be absent for three weeks to come, I know not that I can take a more eligible time for a vacation.

21st. I attended Mr. Carey in the forenoon, and went with Putnam to hear Dr. Tucker<sup>4</sup> in the afternoon. He is a very good preacher,

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Rev. Jonathan Allen, of Bradford.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Smith, born in Charlestown July, 1719; married Elizabeth Storer October 9, 1746; a merchant in Boston; died October 16, 1787. He was a brother of Rev. Wm. Smith, of Weymouth, an uncle of Mrs. Abigail Adams, father of Isaac Smith (*supra*, p. 20) and of William Smith (*supra*, p. 32, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Francis Bradbury, second son of Hon. Theophilus Bradbury, of Newburyport; born 1766; died 1837; married October 6, 1803, Hannah Jones Spooner, of Dorchester. W. B. Lapham, Bradbury Memorial, pp. 89, 118, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. John Tucker (H. C. 1741), at this time nearly seventy years of age, had been pastor of the First Parish in Newbury forty-two years. He received the degree of S. T. D. from Harvard College a few months before. Born in Amesbury; settled at Newbury in November, 1745; died March 22, 1792. On his installation some of the parish, thinking him inclined to Arminianism, withdrew and formed the First Presbyterian Church in Newburyport. He engaged in many sharp doctrinal controversies with the neighboring ministers. See Appleton's American Biography for a list of his sermons in print; J. J. Currier, Hist. of Newbury, pp. 339-344; etc.

but the generality of his hearers look as if they were form'd of the coarsest clay. A number of female figures in particular seem to charge nature with having made gross mistakes. I passed the evening till almost nine o'clock with Putnam. Townsend took me from there and carried me volens nolens to sup with him. I intended to have written a great deal this day, but all my schemes vanished with the fleeting hours, and I must now refer this matter till I return from my intended journey.

22d. The weather yesterday did not look promising, but is this day very clear, and for the season uncommonly warm. At about half past nine I mounted my horse, and Townsend said he would take an airing and ride a few miles with me. The pleasantness of the weather led him on till he finally agreed to go as far as Haverhill, intending to return in the afternoon. We rode part of the way with Sohier, the collegian, who was on his way to Groton; and we got to Haverhill just before twelve o'clock. I found Mr. and Mrs. Shaw had set out this morning for Hingham. At twelve we went to Mr. Thaxter's lodgings, and found fifty or sixty people heartily at work, in which we very readily joined them. At about two, there were eighteen or twenty left who sat down to a table covered with "big bellied" bottles. For two hours or more Bacchus and Momus joined hands to increase the festivity of the company; but the former of these deities then of a sudden took a fancy to divert himself, and fell to tripping up their heels. Momus laugh'd on, and kept singing till he finally grew hoarse and drowsy; and Morpheus, to close the scene, sprinkled a few poppies over their heads, and set them to snoring in concert. This is, I believe, the first time that I have dived any depth into the pagan mythology since I undertook the direction of these very interesting memoirs. I have always had the precept of Horace in my mind,

*Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus,*<sup>1</sup>

and I trust the gentle reader will not think I have in this instance violated that rule. But to return to plain insipid narration, by five o'clock they were all under the table, except those who had been peculiarly cautious and two or three stout toppers. I had been very moderate, yet felt it was necessary to walk and take the air. I rambled with Leonard White, over the fields, and through the streets till near seven o'clock. Then went home with him, and, after passing a couple of hours in chat, retired quite early to bed.

23d. Rose at about eight this morning, and felt no inconveniency from the scene of yesterday. Townsend, who got so much engaged as to give up all thoughts of returning last night to Newbury-Port, breakfasted with us this morning; and then mounted his horse. It was a

<sup>1</sup> *De Arte Poetica*, line 191.

little after nine when I started from the opposite shore of the river, and it was about twelve when I got to the tavern in Wilmington. Mr. Thaxter, and Miss Duncan, and her brother James, a Mr. Howe, and two or three other ladies dined at Wilmington. The landlord is opposed to the proposed Constitution. I stopped about a quarter of an hour at Medford to see my friend Freeman, and delivered him a couple of letters. I expected to have seen him at the ordination to-morrow; but his school retains him at Medford. We got into Boston just before sunset. We stopp'd an hour there to get dress'd, and take a dish of coffee. It was quite dark before we got out of town; and we arrived at Braintree between eight and nine. We found that the young ladies and all the company that was disposed to attend the ordination had gone to Hingham this afternoon. I was very much fatigued. I once before rode this journey in a day; (v. p. 25) and was still more fatigued; but that was in the middle of summer, when the weather was very warm, which made it more tedious to ride on horseback. Kirkland<sup>1</sup> and my brother Tom were both here, and could not go on to Hingham for want of horses. It was almost eleven before we retired.

24th. At about ten this morning I set off for Hingham. Mr. Thaxter and Miss Duncan went somewhat earlier. I got there between eleven and twelve, and went immediately to the meeting house.<sup>2</sup> It was very much crowded, and I found great difficulty to get in. I finally obtained however a very good place. They began by singing a good anthem extremely well. The first prayer was made by Mr. [blank]. Mr. Hilliard<sup>3</sup> then preach'd a sermon from II. Corinthians, I. 24:—Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy. He delivered his sentiments very freely, though many of them were in opposition to the prevailing customs. It was the best sermon I ever heard him preach, and upon this occasion it was natural that he should exert himself. Mr.<sup>4</sup> [blank] gave the charge; Dr.

<sup>1</sup> John Thornton Kirkland, President of Harvard University, 1810-1828; then (1787) a Junior in college. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. vii. pp. 184, 185, for a reference to the sermons preached by Dr. Kirkland at Quincy in memory of John Adams (and of Abigail Adams); see also *American Academy Memoirs*, n. s. v. i. (1833), pp. iii-xxxi, for a Discourse in commemoration of J. Adams and T. Jefferson, October 30, 1826.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated "Old Ship" meeting-house was already, in 1788, over a hundred years old.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Henry Ware had studied theology under Rev. Timothy Hilliard, of Cambridge. Sermon printed in pamphlet form, Salem, 1788; Cambridge, 1828.

<sup>4</sup> The charge was given by the Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset (H. C. 1741). son of Rev. John Brown, of Haverhill, born March 9, 1723; pastor at Cohasset September 2, 1747, till his death, October 22, 1791. See "A Sermon preached October 24 1787 at the Ordination of the Rev. Henry Ware . . . by Timothy Hilliard, A.M. . . ." (Salem, 1788), p. 26, for the charge; pp. 27, 28 for the right hand of fellowship. Cohasset was the Second Parish in Hingham until 1770.

Hitchcock<sup>1</sup> made the ordaining prayer; Mr. Shute<sup>2</sup> gave the right hand of fellowship, and Mr. Haven<sup>3</sup> made the last prayer; the ceremonies were then concluded by another anthem as well perform'd as the first. From thence the company retired. I went to pay my compliments to Mr. Ware, my old chum; <sup>4</sup> and to tell him how happy I am to see him so well settled already. I intended to dine there, but was called away with Mr. Gannett by Mr. Caleb Thaxter,<sup>5</sup> where we went and dined. There were between thirty and forty persons at table, but chiefly young gentlemen. After dinner we had two or three songs, and then walk'd. We went to Col<sup>l</sup> Rice's,<sup>6</sup> where we found a similar company, smoking and singing. We rambled about till almost seven o'clock; and I then went to Mrs. Derby's hall, where, it was said, there was to be a dance. We found here a scene of confusion similar to that which we had last spring at Sandwich. However, by a manœuvre which pack'd off about one half of the company, our numbers were so much reduced that we were able to maintain a degree of order and regularity. I was so lucky as to draw Miss S. Smith of Sandwich for a partner, and danced with her a great part of the evening. It was

Hist. of Hingham, vol. i. part ii. pp. 39, 40; Hurd, Hist. of Norfolk County, p. 233; Jacob Flint, Two Discourses, containing the History of the Church and Society in Cohasset, delivered December 10, 1821, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Gad Hitchcock (H. C. 1743), pastor of the Second Parish in Pembroke, now Hanson, 1748-1803. Born February 12, 1718-19, in Springfield; a chaplain occasionally during the War of the Revolution; member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1780; incapacitated by paralysis July, 1790; died August, 1803; he is remembered as a man of jovial disposition, as well as a vigorous preacher. See his Election Sermon, 1774. See also Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. viii. pp. 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Daniel Shute (H. C. 1743), pastor of the Second Church in Hingham 1746-1802. Born July 19, 1722, in Malden; in 1758 chaplain of a regiment for Canada; 1780 delegate to the State Constitutional Convention; 1788 delegate with General Benjamin Lincoln to the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States; a colleague settled in 1799; died August 30, 1802. See speech in Convention against requiring a religious test as a qualification for office. Elliot, Debates, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119; Hist. of Hingham, vol. i. part ii. pp. 27, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Jason Haven (H. C. 1754), pastor at Dedham 1756-1803. Born March 2, 1732-3 in Framingham; died May 17, 1803; member of State Constitutional Convention of 1780; Sprague, Annals of American Pulpit, vol. i. pp. 557-559.

<sup>4</sup> H. Adams, Historical Essays, p. 86 ("Harvard College, 1786-1787").

<sup>5</sup> Caleb Thaxter, a bachelor of thirty-six, cousin of J. Q. Adams's tutor and kinsman, John Thaxter. Born in Hingham April 18, 1751; he died November 12, 1823, unmarried. Hist. of Hingham, vol. i. part i. pp. 269, 270; vol. iii. p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Colonel Nathan Rice (H. C. 1773), in 1787 about thirty-three years of age, son of Rev. Nathan Rice, of Sturbridge; a law student with John Adams; an aide to General Lincoln in the War of the Revolution; engaged in trade 1783-1798; represented Hingham in the General Court 1801-1805; removed to Burlington, Vt., in 1811; died April, 1834. Hist. of Hingham, vol. iii. p. 129; G. Davis, Hist. Sketch of Sturbridge and Southbridge, pp. 62-64; Works of John Adams, vol. ix. pp. 408, 411.

between two and three in the morning before we broke up. I then went to Col<sup>l</sup> Thaxter's,<sup>1</sup> supp'd, and, at about half after three, went to bed with Charles.

25th. The town is not so much crowded this day, as it was yesterday. That class of people which is called by some persons the *rabble*, (by which word is meant people who have neither a fortune nor an education at our university, *alias* a liberal education) went off chiefly last night; and there now remains nothing but the *genteel* company, or otherwise people who have no business to call them from scenes of dissipation. I walk'd in the morning with Mr. Ware and Col<sup>l</sup> Rice down to the landing place, where I found a number of people employ'd in preparing fish. There is some little business of this kind done here. After returning into town I saunter'd about till dinner time. Foster,<sup>2</sup> Learned,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colonel John Thaxter (H. C. 1741), farmer and colonel of a regiment, town treasurer for many years; born in Hingham November 22, 1721; married, February 24, 1743-4, Anna Quincy, daughter of Colonel John Quincy, great-grandfather of J. Q. Adams; died October 6, 1802. John Thaxter, J. Q. Adams's tutor, was his son. Hist. of Hingham, vol. iii. p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> "Bossenger Foster of Boston was nineteen the 9<sup>th</sup> of last December. Of him I can say but little; he is a very good speaker, and has a good natural genius, but has not been very assiduous in improving the talents entrusted to him by nature. His conversation and manners are often puerile, and very seldom show him to great advantage. His chief excellency lies in declaiming an elegant piece of composition, and in playing on the violin; in these particulars there is not, perhaps, his superior in College. He is remarked by some, as being of a narrow disposition; but this stigma is cast by certain characters upon every person who keeps within the bounds of common frugality; and, if this were Foster's only fault, I should set him down as an excellent character." J. Q. Adams, March 29, 1787. Born December 9, 1767; a classmate of J. Q. Adams; entered the law office of Theophilus Parsons in 1788; lived later in Cambridge; died January 17, 1816, unmarried. His father, Bossenger Foster, moved to Cambridge and lived in the "Batchelder house" opposite St. John's Church. Andrew Craigie was his maternal uncle. See F. C. Pierce, Foster Genealogy (1899), pp. 936, 937.

<sup>3</sup> "Ebenezer Learned of Medford, Middlesex Co., will be twenty-five the 30<sup>th</sup> of next Oct<sup>r</sup>. Without possessing a superior genius, by mere dint of application he has become a respectable scholar; his mind is perhaps more attentive to matters of small moment than is necessary. He has candour enough to confess himself envious, but says he cannot help it. He appears to be sensible that his abilities are not of the first rate, yet he acknowledges that his soul is tortured with ambition. I would not give a fig for life, said he, one day to me, if I could but plant immortality upon Ebenezer Learned. There is not at present any prospect that his name will obtain immortality; but he intends to be a preacher, when he may comfort himself with the idea that his soul must be immortal. He was, as he says himself, too old when he entered the University. From fourteen to eighteen I should suppose the best age for entering. The studies which are pursued here are just calculated for the tender minds of youth; but the degree of liberty that is enjoy'd renders it dangerous to young persons, before they have acquired a certain degree of judgment." J. Q. Adams, diary, May 7, 1787. Learned (H. C. 1787), chose the medical profession; studied under Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, and settled in Hopkinton, N. H., about 1790, being the first educated physician in the town.

and Vose with his sisters<sup>1</sup> went away before dinner. Dined at Col<sup>l</sup> Rice's. The company was not large; the character that I remarked the most was a Captain Clap, who is all soldier. He appears to delight in whatever is military; Col<sup>l</sup> Rice's son, a lad of seven years old, committed some little impropriety; "you rogue," says Clap, "nothing but your age can excuse and protect you." Who but a genuine son of Mars would have thought of correcting, in that manner, a boy of seven years? It was proposed that we should have another dance this night, and Blake and Perkins, a couple of young fellows, both strangers in town, undertook to be managers. We drank tea, a number of us, at Mr. Caleb Thaxter's, and, at about seven, went again to Mrs. Derby's hall, where a partition between two chambers had been taken down, which made it much more convenient than it was the night before. There were about thirty gentlemen and forty ladies; about twenty couple could stand up at once, and the rest amused themselves either with conversation, or with playing at cards. Between two and three we broke up, and I retired with our young ladies. We sat about half an hour at Col<sup>l</sup> Thaxter's, and I then went to bed. But a number of the lads, after conducting their ladies home, retained the music, and went a serenading all over the town till day-light.

26th. We went and escorted a number of ladies to the packet;<sup>2</sup> and by eleven o'clock almost all the company was gone, and the town look'd as solitary as a deserted village. I took a walk with Mr. Q. Thaxter<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Andrews down to Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln's Mills.<sup>4</sup> It was half past twelve before I got back to Mr. Thaxter's. Of all the company that had been there Charles and I only remained at dinner. At about two we mounted, and arrived at Mr. Cranch's in Braintree at about half

He was the first President of the Merrimack County Agricultural Society, founder of the Hopkinton Academy in 1827, Vice-President of the State Medical Society, first Delegate of the New Hampshire Medical Society to Dartmouth; died October 6, 1831.

<sup>1</sup> Solomon Vose (H. C. 1787), classmate of J. Q. Adams, but not accounted one of his friends; son of General Joseph Vose; born in Milton February 22, 1768; went to Charleston, S. C., as a trader; studied law under Levi Lincoln, senior, at Worcester; practised law at Northfield, Mass.; was the first postmaster there, and a Representative to the General Court; removed to Augusta, Me., in 1805; died of apoplexy in 1809. In 1787 he had five sisters between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five—all apparently as yet unmarried—Sarah, Margaret, Dolly and Nancy (twins), and Naomi. Milton Records, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1662-1843, pp. 72, etc.; A. K. Teele, Hist. of Milton, p. 511; J. W. North, Hist. of Augusta, Me., pp. 386, 387, 948.

<sup>2</sup> The communication between Hingham and Boston was then by water, across Boston bay.

<sup>3</sup> Quincy Thaxter, brother of John Thaxter (former tutor of J. Q. Adams); born March 28, 1762; married August 27, 1786, Elizabeth Cushing; died October 9, 1837; a farmer. Hist. of Hingham, vol. iii. p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> A flour and grain mill on Weir River, belonging to General Benjamin Lincoln.

after three. The young ladies had got home before dinner, and were much fatigued. I was not so much so as I expected to be, from keeping so constantly on the go since the beginning of the week. In the beginning of the evening Judge Sargeant came in; he came from Taunton where the Supreme Court have been sitting this week, and completed their business last evening.

27th. Judge Sargeant, went away this forenoon proceeding on his way to Cambridge. Tom went to Lincoln. In the afternoon, I went with Charles and Kirkland to see my uncle Quincy.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wibird was here in the evening.

28th. I attended upon Mr. Wibird in the forenoon; and pass'd the afternoon down at my father's library.<sup>2</sup> W. Cranch came from Boston last evening, and returned there to-night after meeting. I was very much entertained in reading some journals of my father's, from 1769 to 1776.<sup>3</sup>

29th. At about 10 o'clock Mr. Thaxter came in from Hingham on his way to Boston. He stay'd but a few minutes, and I set off with him. We got into town before one. I dined with Miss B. Smith,<sup>4</sup> who still lives in the house that was her father's. Mrs. Cranch was there, and went for Braintree soon after dinner. I went and spent the evening with Dr. Kilham at his lodgings. He has made himself rather unpopular, by opposing the submission of the Federal Constitution to a State Convention; and I think he is perfectly right in preferring his independency to his popularity.

30th. Sauntered about town the chief part of the day. Attended in the gallery of the House of Representatives, but there was no matter of any great importance before them. Dined at Deacon Storer's<sup>5</sup> with Mr. Thaxter, who is very busy in making preparations for his marriage.

<sup>1</sup> Norton Quincy (H. C. 1736), son of Colonel John Quincy; uncle of Mrs. Abigail Adams; was in close harmony with John Adams at the outbreak of the Revolutionary troubles, presided over the Braintree Stamp Act meeting which adopted John Adams's resolutions; served with him as selectman in 1766; headed the committee of correspondence appointed by the town in 1774, etc.; died 1801. He lived on Mount Wollaston. C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, pp. 839, 846, 850, 868.

<sup>2</sup> In the house still standing, at Penn's Hill, Quincy.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently published. See *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. ii. pp. 216-433.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth (Betsey) Smith, daughter of Deacon Isaac Smith, who died October 16, 1787; born January 30, 1770.

<sup>5</sup> Ebenezer Storer, merchant on Sudbury Street; treasurer of Harvard College 1777-1807; for a time a deacon of the Brattle Square Church, and the title clung to him. Baptized February 1, 1730, he died January 6, 1807, aged seventy-seven. Apparently he was the uncle of William Smith, who married Hannah Carter, of Newburyport. Records of the Church in Brattle Square (1902), pp. 39, 117, 152, 279, etc.; *Fleet's Almanack* for 1787; *Boston Directory* for 1780.



I drank tea at Mr. Dawes's, and pass'd the evening at Mr. Foster's with Dr. Tufts. Lodg'd at Mr. W. Smith's.

31st. Saw Charles in Boston, on his way to Cambridge, as the vacation closes this day. At about noon I set out for Cambridge myself. The Supreme Court sits there this week. I dined and lodg'd at Judge Dana's. I attended the Court in the afternoon, but no case came on of any consequence. Saw Stedman there. He has not yet opened an office, but proposes to do so very soon. The House of Representatives this day rejected a report of a Committee for erecting a bridge over Beverly ferry.<sup>1</sup> In the evening I called at Mr. Wigglesworth's and passed an hour: Peggy is as sociable and agreeable as ever.

Here endeth the second Volume.

1787.

Thursday, November 1st 1787.

I attended in the morning and in the afternoon at the setting of the Supreme Court. Judge Dana took his seat for the first time since his illness, from which he has not yet, and I fear never will entirely recover. I dined at his house, and pass'd the evening with my old classmate Sam<sup>l</sup> Williams.<sup>2</sup> The cases before the Court were not very interesting, except one which was so intricate that I could not entirely comprehend it. Sullivan and Lowell spent their lungs for three or four hours upon the cause, and it was eight in the evening before it was given to the jury. Sullivan asserted that in the Courts in this country it was customary to take parol evidence, in preference to matter of record. This bare-faced falshood was noticed by all the Court. Sumner<sup>3</sup> shook his head. "You are totally mistaken, Mr. Sullivan," said Cushing.<sup>4</sup> "They have done so," said Sullivan. "Then," said Sewall,<sup>5</sup> "I hope they will never do so again." This is

<sup>1</sup> In 1788 the Essex Bridge was built over Beverly ferry, connecting Salem with Beverly; the first stroke struck May 1; formally opened for traffic September 24. This, with the Charles River and Malden bridges, was the pride of Massachusetts; "for magnitude," the "Centinel" asserted, "not equalled by anything of the kind in America." *Massachusetts Centinel*, September 10 and 24, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Williams, son of Rev. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics at Harvard 1780-1788; born October 6, 1770; died March 1, 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Increase Sumner (H. C. 1767), Justice of the Supreme Court 1782-1797; Governor of Massachusetts 1797-1799; law student under Samuel Adams.

<sup>4</sup> William Cushing, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; appointed a Justice before the War of Independence, succeeding his father and his grandfather; 1789 resigned to accept appointment to Supreme Court of the United States. John Adams was nominated to the position of Chief Justice, but never qualified. See letter from John Adams to William Cushing, June 9, 1776. John Adams, Works, vol. ix. pp. 890-392; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. vii. p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> David Sewall (H. C. 1755), of York, Maine; classmate of John Adams; Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts 1777-1789; United States Judge

not an uncommon practice of Sullivan's; and when the whole Court are thus loudly against him he does not appear in the least abashed, but appears to display a countenance which never knew a blush. I lodg'd at Packard's chamber.

2d. I breakfasted this morning with Stedman. A number of the lawyers were there; rather nettled at a bill now before the Senate, for the better regulating the fees, &c., of attorneys and practitioners. The Committee by whom it was drawn up and presented, was composed of those persons who for these two years past have been the most violent of the community, in their antipathy to lawyers — blessed times!<sup>1</sup> I was so much engag'd this forenoon in other matters that

of the District of Maine 1789-1818. See John Adams, Works, vol. ii. pp. 241-244, vol. ix. pp. 627-629, vol. x. p. 399; Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i. pp. 389, 390.

<sup>1</sup> This entry has an historical significance. In 1788 the legal calling was, not without cause, looked upon in Massachusetts with much popular disfavor. The country was very poor, the people in debt, and the currency disordered. Paper money was wholly discredited, and there was little silver in circulation. "The sufferings of the debtors in Massachusetts, especially in its central and western counties [were] embittered by the devices of attorneys to increase their own emoluments, and aggrieved by the barbarous laws of that day which doomed the debtor, however innocent, to imprisonment at the caprice of his creditor." Bancroft, History of the Formation of the Constitution, vol. i. p. 274. See also paper of John Noble in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1902. This condition of affairs had led to the uprising in the autumn of 1786. So great was the popular discontent at the time, and so odious had lawyers become, that at a town meeting held at Braintree, where J. Q. Adams lived, on the 25th of September, 1786, its representative to the General Court was instructed as follows:—

"6thly. We humbly request that there may be such Laws compiled as may crush or at least put a proper check or restraint on that order of Gentlemen denominated Lawyers the completion of whose modern conduct appears to us to tend rather to the destruction than the preservation of this Commonwealth."

"8thly. That Real and Personal Estate be a tender for all debts when call'd for, provided the Interest be punctually paid."

Some six months later, and under these circumstances, Mr. Adams, then a member of the Senior class at Harvard, was assigned, as a part at the spring exhibition, "a conference in English, upon the comparative utility of Law, Physic, and Divinity." He was to advocate Law; his classmates Moses Little and Nathaniel Freeman spoke for Physics and Divinity. The following entries in Mr. Adams's diary relate to the subject:—

"March 14th. Was employ'd almost all day in thinking upon the subject of my conference; wrote a few lines, with much difficulty. Did not like the subject. Wished the conference to the devil.

"March 15th. All day, engaged again in writing my part of the conference; I do not know that I ever found so much difficulty to write upon any subject. Little and Freeman are not much better pleased. In the night, however, between twelve and two o'clock, I began to have something like a flow of ideas; I wrote more than I had done in two whole days."

The opening paragraph of his conference indicates the causes of his "difficulty," and also the popular feeling toward lawyers:—

I could not attend at the Court. I called at Mr. Dana's and at Mr. Wigglesworth's,<sup>1</sup> and took their letters for Newbury-Port. Dined at M<sup>rs</sup> Forbes's. Jack,<sup>2</sup> and his brother James,<sup>3</sup> arrived from Boston just

"At a time when the profession of the Law, labours under the heavy weight of popular indignation; when it is upbraided as the original cause of all the evils with which the Commonwealth is distressed; when the legislature have been publicly exhorted by a popular writer to abolish it entirely, and when the mere title of lawyer is sufficient to deprive a man of the public confidence, it should seem this profession would afford but a poor subject for panegyric: but its real utility is not to be determined by the short-lived frenzy of an inconsiderate multitude, nor by the artful misrepresentations of an insidious writer. With this consideration I shall rely upon the candor of the audience, without being terrified by the prevailing prejudice of the day."

November 4, 1786, "An act regulating the admission of attorneys" forbade the employment of more than two lawyers on either side in any suit. November 15, 1780, an "Act for rendering processes in law less expensive" limited the number to one on either side "in any cause before the Court of Common Pleas."

But the people wished further restrictions, and on Thursday, October 18, 1787, it was ordered in the House of Representatives that "Dr. Holton, Mr. White & Mr. Dawes, be a committee to revise the laws for rendering processes in law less expensive and report such alterations as may be necessary to be made therein." (MS. Journal of the House, p. 155.) And five days later the Senate took action: "The Hon. Peter Coffin, Esq. bro't down the following order, viz: In Senate, Oct. 23, 1787, Ordered that Aaron Wood & Benj'n Austin, Junior, Esq's, with such as the Hon. House may join, be a committee to bring in a bill for regulating the practice of the law in this Commonwealth & for establishing fees for attorneys, practitioners & witnesses." The House concurred at once and appointed Mr. Carnes, Dr. Coney and Mr. Clarke. (House MS. Journal, p. 173, October 23, 1787.)

On Wednesday, October 31, a bill for this purpose was considered in the Senate, and the second reading was assigned for Thursday at 10 o'clock, the day before that on which J. Q. Adams breakfasted with Stedman (MS. Journal of the Senate, p. 183). There is no record that it came up on the date assigned; but, on Tuesday, November 6, it was negatived in the Senate, and notice to that effect was sent to the House.

In the issue of the "Massachusetts Centinel" for Wednesday, November 21, 1787, a similar action by the House is recorded as follows: —

"Last evening a bill for regulating the practice of the law, was debated and finally rejected in the House of Representatives — although Mr. Carnes, in a lengthy speech — Did a tale unfold — (Whose lightest word would harrow up the soul) of Lawyer's impositions, charges, fees, enough to make the hair to stand on end, like quills upon the fretful Porcupine."

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Edward Wigglesworth, of Newburyport, was a cousin of Professor Edward Wigglesworth, of Cambridge. They were grandsons of the author of "The Day of Doom."

<sup>2</sup> John Murray Forbes, classmate of J. Q. Adams. Under date of March 28, 1787, J. Q. Adams wrote: "John Forbes of Cambridge was fifteen the 13th of last August. He is the youngest person in the class, and his entering the university at so early a period has been an essential injury to him. By being left so much

<sup>3</sup> James Grant Forbes, an elder brother of John Murray Forbes; born November 22, 1769; commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Infantry,

before dinner. It was almost five o'clock, when I got on my horse, and took leave of Forbes and Packard. Just after dusk, I got into Boston.

to his own direction at twelve years of age, he acquired habits of indolence and idleness which are not easily shaken off. He has an uncommon share of wit and an extraordinary memory; but he has not sufficiently learnt to respect himself. As he has always found his fellow students ready to laugh at his satirical wit, he has acquired a great degree of impudence, and rather than miss a joke fills his conversation frequently with the most low lived scurrility. As he seldom loses much of his time in thinking, he is not sensible that the very persons who applaud his satire despise the speaker, or that the reason why no notice is taken of his insults [is] because he is supposed to have no meaning in what he says. His mind like the sand will receive any impression, and the impression will last about as long. All these foibles however may be attributed to his youth, and it is to be hoped a few years of experience will correct them; he is always good-natured, and has a great deal of sensibility, with an excellent genius which wants nothing but cultivation to make it flourish among the first. I have been intimate with him since I entered College and have always endeavoured to retain the same sentiments concerning him, though his friendship for me appears to ebb and flow as frequently as the tide. If he should throw off those childish follies which now disgrace his character, and apply with diligence to study, he would be an honour to his friends and an ornament to society." Born in St. Augustine, Fla., August 18, 1771, his father being the rector there; brought by his mother, Dorothy Murray, of Milton, to Massachusetts in 1773; prepared for college by Dr. Samuel Kendal, of Weston; was engaged in the practice of law in Boston, 1794; after 1796 lived mostly abroad. In 1801 appointed consul-general for the north of Europe, residing at Hamburg and Copenhagen; November 18, 1810, recommended by J. Q. Adams to Monroe as special agent to the government of Chili, to demand restitution of property taken from American citizens by Lord Cochrane within its jurisdiction; appointed agent for commerce and seamen to Buenos Ayres, or Chili, as the existing agent, B. Prevost, might choose (instructions dated July 5, 1820); appointed Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres in 1823 to Cæsar Rodney, *Chargé d'Affaires*, who died June, 1824; nominated by J. Q. Adams, March 5, 1826, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Buenos Ayres; died at his post June 14, 1831. A strain of boyishness still lingered, apparently to the end; being troubled with gout, he is said to have chosen for his crest "a gouty foot couchant, crossed by two crutches rampant," with the motto, "*Toujours souffrant, jamais triste.*" He never married. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. iv. pp. 443, 445; vol. v. pp. 129, 157, 163, 164; vol. vi. p. 520; *American State Papers*, *Foreign Relations*, vol. iv. pp. 820-826; vol. vi. p. 281, etc.; A. K. Teele, *Hist. of Milton*, pp. 567, 568.

August 1, 1813; served under General Jackson; was at one time commander at Staten Island. When McGregor was ruling at Amelia Island, Forbes was there, and was invited to become a member of the sham legislature at Fernandino, but declined. Later, in April, 1818, he gave J. Q. Adams "many particulars of the proceedings of the sham patriots under McGregor and Aury, and of the characters of the men, confirming everything that has been said of their profligacy." In 1820 he again gave valuable information as to the pretended port of St. Joseph, and the case of the *Apollon*. In March, 1821, J. Q. Adams recommended him to the President "as Commissioner to carry the order from the King of Spain to the Governor and Captain-General of Cuba for the delivery of the Floridas and of the archives belonging to them. The President assented to this appointment. I sent for Forbes, who came to the office and agreed to go." How wearisome

Went to Mr. Dawes's, and found Wm. Cranch with whom I went and pass'd the evening at Dr. Tufts's lodgings. Lodg'd at Mr. W. Smith's.

3d. Between eight and nine this morning, I cross'd Charlestown and Malden bridges. I rode as far as Danvers before I stopp'd. There I found Mr. W. Parsons<sup>1</sup> and his wife, Mr. T. Parsons, and Mr. J. Tracey. They started from thence before me, but I came up with them again in Ipswich, where we dined at Homan's tavern. Parsons was quite witty, but strained rather too much for it, as he frequently does. "John," said he to Tracey, "who made you adjutant general?" "Mr. Bowdoin." "Strange! how the wisest men will err sometimes!" This kind of wit may, I think, be compared to a sky rocket, which spends all its force in hissing, and then disappoints us with such a weak explosion that it can scarcely be heard. But wit to be pleasing must, I think, be unexpected, like the lightening which flashes in our eyes. From Ipswich I rode in company with them to Newbury, and at about sunset I return'd my horse to his owner. I met Thompson in the street, and went with him to Putnam's lodgings. He stay'd only a few minutes, but I tarried there till almost nine o'clock, when I came home and retired to bed.

4th. I was so much fatigued in consequence of my yesterday's ride that I did not attend meeting. I wrote some lines at home, and finished reading the first volume of Buffon's Theory of the Earth.<sup>2</sup> I am exceed-

his mission was may be seen in his despatches. See American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. iv. pp. 741-748; Memoirs, vol. iv. pp. 74-76; vol. v. pp. 196, 322, 418, 420, 422; A. K. Teele, Hist. of Milton, p. 567.

<sup>1</sup> William Parsons, brother of Theophilus Parsons, born in Byfield August 6, 1755; a sailor and shipmaster for five years; moved to Boston to engage in commerce in 1780, with an office (in 1789) on Parsons's wharf and a house on South Street; "an invalid from childhood," yet outlived all his connection, and died March, 1837, the "oldest merchant and shipowner in the city." Memoir of Theophilus Parsons, by his son, Theophilus Parsons, pp. 18, 331, 332; A. Young, Memorial Discourse of March 29, 1837; Boston Directory for 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Between 1781 and 1785 there was published at Edinburgh an English translation in nine volumes of the works of the French scientist, George Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707-1788), the precursor of Cuvier. "The Theory of the Earth" and "The Natural History of Man" formed parts of this larger work. The original publication in French was noteworthy for its literary merit. Cuvier, J. Q. Adams's junior by two years, owed his interest in natural history to Buffon, so Mrs. R. Lee, the pupil and intimate friend of Cuvier, wrote. As a boy he "was never without a volume of this author in his pocket, which was read again and again. . . . The admiration which he felt at this youthful period for his great predecessor never ceased, and in public as well as private circles, he never failed to express it. The charms of Buffon's style, a beauty to which M. Cuvier was very sensible, had always afforded him the highest pleasure, and he felt a sort of gratitude to him, not only for the great zeal he had evinced in the cause of natural history, not only for the enjoyment afforded to his youthful leisure, but for the many proselytes who had been attracted by the magic of his language." Memoirs of Baron Cuvier, pp. 11, 12.

ingly pleased with the style and manner of this writer. It is concise, nervous, and elegant. The theory I cannot properly judge of till I get through the other volume.

5th. I attended at the office. Amory was there; return'd yesterday from Salem. Townsend went to Boston last week, and has not yet return'd. In the afternoon, we attended the funeral of Mrs. Davenport, a sister of Mr. Parsons; she died of a consumption a few days since. Little and Thomson pass'd an hour with me in the evening, after which I went with the latter to Mr. Atkins's. Thomson was much affected on hearing of the death of one of his school-boys, who died of the scarlet fever, after a very short illness. I cannot write yet in the evening, for want of fire.

6th. Mr. Parsons went this morning to Salem, where the Supreme Court sits this week. I pass'd this evening with Thomson at the office, and had a great deal of conversation with him upon divers subjects. I feel my attachment for this young gentleman daily increasing. The more I become acquainted with him, the more my expectation of enjoying great benefit and satisfaction from an intimacy with him increases. Indeed I have hitherto had reason to think myself fortunate in my fellow students, who are all very agreeable, although their dispositions are essentially different. I pass'd an hour this forenoon very sociably with Miss Jones.

7th. Quite industrious this day in copying forms. Alone in the office a great part of the day. Amory, even when he is in town, is not very attentive at the office. I pass'd the evening with Putnam.

8th. Finished my book of forms, and wrote an index to them. So that henceforth, I shall be able to attend more steadily to Blackstone. Townsend return'd this morning from Boston.

9th. Amory went to Salem this afternoon. They have a ball there this evening, said to be given to the Court. Amory went to attend it. I pass'd the evening at Mr. Bradbury's, where we play'd a number of tunes in concert, besides a cheating game of cards. I got through the theory of the earth. I am more and more pleased with the author. One part of his theory is merely hypothetical, and might perhaps be called extravagant. He supposes the earth and the other planets were originally a part of the sun, and that they were sever'd from it by the shock of a comet, yet even in this part his reasoning is very ingenious; the other part of his theory is founded upon facts; he lays very justly much more stress upon this, and his arguments are very strong and convincing. He supposes that the continents and islands which are now inhabited were covered by the waters of the ocean, and that they will be so again; that at some future period the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Andees will be at the bottom of the sea, and that the earth now beneath the Atlantic and Pacific oceans will be the

abodes of men, adorned with splendid cities, and crowned with venerable forests. The phenomena from which he deduces his strongest arguments are the continual motion of the sea from east to west, the correspondent angles of mountains, the horizontal and parallel position of the different strata of earth, and the innumerable quantities of sea shells and other marine productions found in all parts of the earth at a considerable depth under-ground. If the author is sometimes mistaken, he is certainly everywhere philosophical.

10th. Attended at the office as usual, and read Blackstone. Passed the evening with Putnam at his lodgings. Began to read Buffon's *Natural History of Man*.

11th. Attended meeting, with Townsend, the whole day at Dr. Tucker's; much pleased with this gentleman as a preacher. Little came home with me. In the evening Williams came in, — from Salem yesterday. We went with him to Putnam's and finished the evening.

12th. I had some writing which I wished to do this day, and I therefore did not attend at the office. Williams and Little dined, and past the afternoon with me. Townsend came in just before dark; I went with him and spent an hour or two at Mr. Atkins's. This family is very agreeable. Mrs. Atkins is a sociable, cheerful, sensible old lady; Miss A. is handsome, and a favorite of Townsend's. I went home with Townsend and supped there. The evening was excessively dark.

13th. Williams set out this morning for Cambridge. I at length got me some wood, and had a fire in my chamber, which will enable me henceforth to study more in the evenings. Thompson was with me an hour or two this night.

14th. I find I am getting fast into the same unmeaning dull sameness, which has frequently abbreviated the space of a day in these pages. Study does not consist merely in acquiring the ideas of others, but it is necessary by reflection to endeavour to form some for ourselves. But I am fearful that I have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge to derive much advantage from my own speculations. *Ars longa, vita brevis*, is a maxim the truth of which I am experiencing daily more and more. There is not one art or science in which I have any degree of proficiency, and I have now undertaken the study of a profession which alone ought to employ all the time I can devote to study for twenty years to come. My eyes and my health begin to fail, and I do not feel that ardor for application which I should have to be a man of science. In short the more I do, the more I find to do; and it is almost discouraging, to see one's labour increase, as we proceed in it.

15th. Amory and Thompson went upon a dancing party yesterday, they invited me to join them, but I did not feel disposed. This afternoon I went with Townsend, and attended Mr. Spring's<sup>1</sup> lecture. I was

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Samuel Spring (Princeton, 1771), in 1787 a man of about forty, pastor of the North (Congregational) Church of Newburyport over forty years (1777-

much better pleased than I expected to be with this gentleman's preaching. His sentiments are extremely contracted and illiberal, and he maintains them with the zeal and enthusiasm of a bigot, but his delivery is very agreeable, and I believe his devotion sincere. Although I shall never be a convert to his principles, I will not condemn them as impious and heretical. Little, Putnam, and I spent the evening with Thomson, at his father's. A letter from W. S. was canvassed; it was stiff, inelegant and trivial. I gave this as my opinion, and although they charged me with being prejudiced against the writer, yet I found their sentiments on this point agreed perfectly with mine.

16th. I finished the second volume of Blackstone, and began upon the third, which treats of private wrongs. And this evening I got through Buffon's Natural History of Man, which is still more entertaining than The Theory of the Earth.

17th. I set out for Haverhill between three and four this afternoon, and arrived at Mr. White's a little after five. Leonard was at my lodgings last Tuesday, and made me promise I would stay with him the next time I should go to that town. I was inform'd of Mr. Thaxter's marriage. Last Tuesday was the day when he departed the life of a bachelor and was ushered into a new kind of existence. His friends had expected it would not be till next Tuesday, but he fairly gave them the slip. I went up to Mr. Shaw's this evening, and spent an hour. Lodg'd at Mr. White's.

18th. In the forenoon I attended at Mr. Smith's meeting: he preaches without notes, and, like all the preachers who make a practice of this that I ever heard, often repeats the same sentiments. In the afternoon I went to hear Mr. Shaw. After meeting I went up there, and pass'd part of the evening. Mr. Redington and Captain Marsh and Deacon Eames were there.

19th. I lodg'd at Mr. White's again last night; went this morning up to Mr. Shaw's and past an hour; and between ten and eleven set off for Newbury-Port. Got home at about one. Called at the office; found Amory was gone to Salem for a week. Mr. Parsons says, he will spoil himself in spite of anything that can be done. Townsend dined with me. We were not much in the office in the afternoon. Little spent the evening with me. Rather unwell.

1819; son of an "opulent farmer" of Northbridge; studied theology under Drs. Witherspoon, Hopkins, Bellamy, and West; served as a chaplain in General Arnold's disastrous expedition to Canada in 1775; installed at Newburyport, August, 1777; died March, 1819; published a Dialogue on Duty and several sermons; was instrumental in founding the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Andover Theological Seminary, and the American Bible Society. Gardiner Spring, more than sixty years pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City, was his son. Dunning, Congregationalists in America, p. 287; Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County, pp. 86-92.



20th. Proceed slowly in the third volume of Blackstone. As this is the most important author of all those that will occur, I make large extracts from him, which takes me up so much time that I cannot read above twenty or thirty pages in a day. Townsend pass'd the evening at my lodgings, — dull weather. This afternoon there was a town-meeting for the purpose of choosing members to represent this town in the State Convention which is to meet in January, and canvass the proposed Federal Constitution. The persons chosen were Mr. King,<sup>1</sup> Judge Greenleaf, Mr. Parsons, and Gen<sup>l</sup> Titcomb. They are all in favour of the Constitution, and the town appears to be very unanimous for it.

21st. I this morning requested of Mr. Parsons his opinion, whether it would be most advantageous for me to pursue the professional study in those hours when I should not attend at the office; or whether it would be best to devote those of my evenings which I shall pass at my own lodgings, to other purposes, and a diversity of studies. He answered by observing that I could not attend to any useful branch of science in which I should not find my account; he would rather advise me to read a number of ethic writers. It was necessary for a person going into the profession of the law to have principles strongly established; otherwise, however amiable and however honest his disposition might be, yet the necessity he is under of defending indiscriminately the good and the bad, the right, and the wrong, would imperceptibly lead him into universal skepticism. He advised also Quinctilian and the best writers upon Christianity. He himself, he said, was convinced of the truth of the Christian religion; he believed revelation, and it was his reason that had been convinced, for he entered upon the world rather prejudiced against revelation. It stormed in the afternoon. I pass'd part of the evening at Mr. Parsons's, and the remainder with Townsend at his lodgings.

22d. Weather remarkably mild for the season. I have been rather unwell for a week or ten days back, which prevents me from applying myself with so much assiduity as I should wish to. I passed this evening with Thompson and Putnam at Little's. We were very sociable and cheerful. . . .

23d. The events of the day were quite uninteresting. I had however an opportunity to observe the effects of the passions, how despotically they rule! how they bend and master the greatest and the wisest geniuses! 'T is a pity! 't is great pity! that prudence should desert people when they have the most need of it. 'T is pity that such a mean, little, dirty passion as envy should be the vice of the most capa-

<sup>1</sup> Rufus King (H. C. 1777), formerly a law student with Theophilus Parsons; entered political life in 1784 as a Representative from Newburyport; had just returned from the Constitutional Convention of 1787. For Judge Benjamin Greenleaf and General Titcomb, see *supra*, pp. 37, 47.

cious souls. Human Nature, how inexplicable art thou! Oh, may I learn before I advance upon the political stage (if I ever do) not to put my trust in thee! This grave apostrophe, with the lines that precede it, may be mysterious to you, sir, but if so, remember that it is none of your business — and so I wish you good night.

24th. I went in the forenoon and exhibited my complaints to Dr. Swett, but he told me they were not worth speaking of; and so I will e'en let them take their chance. This afternoon Townsend and I went down to Mr. Tracey's, upon a disagreeable piece of business, but which we got through quite comfortably. Ben Hooper called on me in the evening. I have again begun upon Gibbon's Roman History, and hope I shall this time go through. I read the first volume last spring; but at that time my avocations were so numerous that I could not proceed in reading the book. I admire the style, and in general the sentiment, though I think there is sometimes an affectation of wit in the one, and sometimes a glaring tinsel in the other, which are far beneath the majestic simplicity of nature.

25th. I thought I was too unwell to pass two hours in a cold meeting house this forenoon, and staid at home. In the afternoon I ventured out, and went with Townsend to Dr. Tucker's meeting-house; but finding there was no service there, we went to church. Parson Bass<sup>1</sup> is not much of an orator, and was rather negligent in treating common place topics in common place language. Drank tea at Mrs. Hooper's, and pass'd the evening at Mr. J. Tracy's. Capt<sup>o</sup> Fletcher<sup>2</sup> was there. Tracy<sup>3</sup> was quite warm upon the subject of the late election. He is a militia officer, and possessed very strongly of the esprit de corps. He was offended that Gen<sup>l</sup> Titcomb should come in the last of the four members for this town; and, in the course of conversation, went rather beyond the bounds of prudence.

26th. I took an additional cold yesterday, and am still more unwell than I have been. I pass'd the evening at my lodgings, reading Gibbon and translating a piece from the French.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Edward Bass (H. C. 1744), rector of St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church in Newburyport, 1762-1803; born in Dorchester November 23, 1726; one of the few Episcopal clergymen who remained, and his parishioners with him, during and after the war, the church and the country attaining independence and self-support in the same year; in 1797, when over seventy years of age, chosen the first bishop of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, holding the two offices of bishop and rector for six years; died September 10, 1803. Among his parishioners were many college-bred merchants, as Jonathan Jackson, Tristram Dalton, John Tracy, Stephen Hooper; also Dudley Atkins, etc. D. D. Addison, *Life and Times of Edward Bass*; J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 403-416.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably John Fletcher, sea-captain, Treasurer of the Marine Society of Newburyport. *Fleet's Almanack* for 1787.

<sup>3</sup> John Tracy was Deputy Adjutant-General of the militia of Essex County, of which Jonathan Titcomb was Major-General.

27th. Better than I have been for these ten days past; all the time again at the office or at my own lodgings. It is of great advantage to us to have Mr. Parsons in the office. He is in himself a law-library, and a proficient in every useful branch of science; but his chief excellency is, that no student can be more fond of proposing questions than he is of solving them. He is never at a loss, and always gives a full and ample account, not only of the subject proposed, but of all matters which have any intimate connection with it. I am persuaded that the advantage of having such an instructor is very great, and I hope I shall not misimprove it, as some of his pupils have done. Where nature is deficient, application must supply her place; and, if Nature is liberal, there is so much more reason for turning her partiality to advantage. For

Nature never lends  
The smallest scruple of her excellence,  
But like a thrifty goddess she determines  
Herself the glory of a creditor,  
Both thanks and use.<sup>1</sup>

28th. . . . Mr. Parsons, after making much difficulty, has finally consented that we should pass the evenings till eight o'clock at the office, at Townsend's importunity. It will make at this season a large addition to the time which we employ in the professional studies, though I do not know that it will be of any great advantage to me.

29th. Thanksgiving day: between eight and nine o'clock this morning I set out for Haverhill and got to Mr. Shaw's a little before eleven. I attended meeting. Mr. Shaw preach'd a long sermon and a good one. Mr. Parker and his wife dined with us. I did not admire them, the woman particularly: she has a hard masculine countenance, and black eyes which express as much softness as those of a tyger. But she is a very good woman; only has rather too much temper, or as it is called in New-England too much *stuff*. I went down to Mr. White's in the evening, but Leonard was not at home. I was going to Mr. Duncan's, but met all the younger part of the family in the street. I found Leonard White at Mr. Shaw's, and Mr. Flint who came this day from Lincoln.

30th. I passed the forenoon with Leonard, who has been making two or three unsuccessful attempts to make phosphorus; his glass vials melt in the process. Dined at Mr. Duncan's. Mrs. Thaxter has got two or three wrinkles on her forehead. I went to see the house in which they are to live—pass'd the afternoon with him. His honey moon is not yet past. I was at Mr. White's in the evening.

<sup>1</sup> Measure for Measure, Act I. Scene 1.

Saturday, December 1st, 1787.

I dined at Mr. White's; after dinner I went to Mr. Shaw's, stay'd about an hour, and just before sun-set departed for Newbury-Port. I got into the town just as the clock struck seven. Pass'd the evening with Putnam, and came home at about nine. I found Dr. Kilham at home. He return'd from Boston on Thursday; and although his conduct during the late session of the General Court, upon the subject of the proposed continental constitution, has not met with the approbation of his constituents in general, yet I think he is very much to be applauded for that independance of spirit which disdains to sacrifice a sentiment to the breath of popularity.<sup>1</sup> But men are too apt to suspect the motives of those with whom they differ in sentiment, and although in this country religious bigotry is almost entirely done away, yet the same principle, in another garb, appears in all our political manœuvres.

5th. I pass'd the evening with Little and Townsend at Miss Cazneau's. We play'd commerce and whist; but it was dull work. Miss Cazneau has nothing in her person to recommend her, but a very good shape; her complexion is very dark, and not very clear,—no feature of her face is peculiarly agreeable and her eyes are rather unfavorable to her. A capricious, passionate, imprudent character is stamped upon her behaviour. She displays rather too much levity, and a trifling, *uninteresting* vanity is conspicuous. I call it *uninteresting* vanity, because there is a certain kind of vanity that I have observed in some women which is exceedingly interesting, and which is sometimes productive of such pleasing manners that I should be at a loss whether to call it a foible or an accomplishment. Miss Tucker, who likewise passed the evening there, is fair, rather too large for gentility, with a countenance which has not sufficient animation or expression to be very strikingly agreeable. Her manners are pleasing. If I could find fault with any part of them, it would be with the appearance of an affectation of *softness*. This defect is not uncommon; but however amiable a real sweetness of disposition may be, this appearance of it in the manners is not calculated to win my heart. However, if I were to judge of the tempers of these two ladies from their behaviour this evening, I should pronounce the latter infinitely the most amiable of the two. I came home at about nine, in the evening.

6th. Spent the evening with Thompson and Little at Putnam's lodgings. We conversed upon a diversity of subjects. Law, physic, history, poetry, religion and politics, by turns, engaged our attention.

<sup>1</sup> See "Massachusetts Centinel," October 27, 1787, for a report of Dr. Kilham's speech in the Legislature in opposition to the Federal Constitution.



able; not endow'd, I believe, with great strength of mind; not much of a reasoner, nor much of a patriot, and professes to know nothing of politics, which she supposes to be entirely out of the sphere of the female sex. It would perhaps be as well, if all women thought so, and conducted upon the principle; yet I wish even females to feel some interest in the welfare of their country. The Dr. is a man of learning and ingenuity. He went through a course of professional studies in Scotland, and has travell'd in different parts of Europe; but he has a mean idea of human nature, and I should not wonder if all physicians had; for they are incessantly conversant with the physical defects and infirmities of mankind. They see humanity in a state of humiliation, and it is no wonder if they have no idea of its glory.

11th. Reading Blackstone all day; and I pass'd the evening at the office till eight; after which I went and past an hour with Putnam. F. Bradbury was with him. We had some conversation upon the stale topic of self love and disinterested benevolence. A subject upon which I have very frequently conversed with many different persons, and, notwithstanding every thing that I have heard said upon the subject, I still retain the opinion which I adopted when I first reasoned upon it. I will not venture to say there is no such thing as disinterested benevolence, but I must say that after searching as deeply as possible into my own mind, I cannot find a trace of it there. Talk'd with Dr. Kilham upon the Federal Constitution. The elections which have hitherto been made in different parts of the State, appear to be generally favorable to it.

12th. This day I finished reading the fourth and last volume of Blackstone's Commentaries. This is one of the most important books in the profession, and I have, comparatively speaking, taken more time in reading it than I probably shall for any other book; yet I am very far from being master of it, and I intend before the end of my three years, if I should live and have my health, to go through this book once or twice more. I began in the afternoon upon Sullivan's Lectures, and read a few pages; but not sufficient to get an idea of the merits of the book. Thompson has so far recovered, that he was at the office in the afternoon. I pass'd the evening at my own lodgings, reading and writing.

13th. The repetition of the same events, from day to day, is the only variety which can supply materials for this record of my transactions. Conversations are seldom interesting. New characters seldom arise, and I am employed more time in thinking what I shall say for one day, than I am in writing the occurrences of a week. Fertility of imagination might supply the deficiency of materials, but my soil produces no spontaneous fruits . . .

14th. I was about an hour with Dr. Kilham at his shop immediately

after dinner; I took up one of the volumes of Junius's Letters,<sup>1</sup> and carried it with me to the office. I read the whole afternoon, and was interrupted only by the shadows of the evening. I called upon Little, and brought him home with me to my lodgings. We pass'd a very sociable evening together. After he was gone, I took up again my volume of Junius, and just before I finished it the midnight clock reminded me that the hour of retirement was again come round. This hour and that of rousing from the night's repose are equally disagreeable to me. My mind seems in this respect to partake of the vis inertiae of matter. I cannot possibly rise early, and I am obliged to run forward into the night for those moments of contemplation and study which perhaps would be more advantageously taken before the dawn of day.<sup>2</sup>

15th. A violent north-west wind blew the whole day, but we have no snow yet. . . . Spent the evening with Putnam, who has lately taken a great fancy to digging in metaphysical ground, though he is not perfectly acquainted with the nature of the soil. He has drunk just enough of the Pierian spring to intoxicate the brain, and not sufficient to sober him again.

16th. I waited upon Parson Cary this forenoon, in expectation of much edification; but he gave us a more indifferent sermon than usual, which, in addition to the weather's being very cold, prevented me from going in the afternoon, instead of which I read three or four of Yorick's sermons.<sup>3</sup> Townsend, who returned last night from Boston, was here all day. In the evening I concluded the first volume of Gibbon's history. The two last chapters which treat of the rise and progress of Christianity are written neither with the indulgence of a friend, nor even with the candor and ingenuous openness which an enemy ought ever to show. The sentiment however with which he concludes the volume is a melancholy truth; and it is to the immortal honour of the present age that no new religious sect can gain ground, because it cannot find a persecutor.

17th. I have continued reading in Sullivan's Lectures. The book is entertaining, and the author so far as he goes appears to be master of his subject. In general he is perspicuous and intelligible, but the treatise is rather historical than professional: it was a posthumous

<sup>1</sup> Written between 1769 and 1772.

<sup>2</sup> Later in life, as is well known, J. Q. Adams overcame this disinclination to early rising, and became at last a victim to it. December 31, 1828, he wrote: "My rising hour has varied from quarter-past four to seven — the average being about five. After making my fire, I have been constantly writing till breakfast time, between nine and ten." *Memoirs*, vol. viii. p. 88. See also *ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 97, 165, 365; etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Sermons of Mr. Yorick; or, Sermons by Laurence Sterne. Publication began in 1700; had passed through several editions before 1787.

work, and therefore probably much more imperfect than it would have been had the author himself given it to the public. The style is rather harsh and inharmonious, and there are many inaccuracies even of grammar, which are probably nothing more than errors of an uncorrected press. Townsend and I pass'd the evening in the office till about eight, after which I went in and play'd with Mr. Parsons at back-gammon about an hour.

18th. Passed the day at the office. Townsend and Thompson were there in the evening.

The question, what am I to do in this world recurs to me very frequently; and never without causing great anxiety, and a depression of spirits. My prospects appear darker to me every day, and I am obliged sometimes to drive the subject from my mind and to assume some more agreeable train of thought. I do not wish to look into futurity; and were the leaves of fate to be opened before me, I should shrink from the perusal. Fortune, I do not covet. Honours, I begin to think are not worth seeking, and as for "the bubble reputation," though deck'd with all the splendors of the rainbow, yet those very splendors are deceitful, and it seldom fails to burst from the weight of the drop which it contains.

19th. I spent my time this day in the same manner that I did the two last. I came home to my lodgings at about eight in the evening, and not being disposed to study felt quite dull. When Dr. Kilham is not at home, I am entirely without company, for my landlady is in fact a good woman, but merely a good woman.

20th. The cold weather appears to be setting in seriously; and indeed it is high time that it should. It snow'd some part of the day. Just after dusk, I walk'd with Thompson and Putnam to Little's home in Newbury, but he was gone to attend the ordination at Byfield.<sup>1</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> The ordination of Rev. Elijah Parish (Dartmouth, 1785), pastor of the church at Byfield for thirty-eight years; the strong Federalist whose election sermon of 1810, prepared at the invitation of a Federalist Legislature but delivered to a "Jacobin" one, was quoted for its bitter, stinging phraseology, by Mathew Carey in his "Olive Branch" (1814), and by Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, in the Senate debate with Webster; instrumental in founding Andover Theological Seminary and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; born at Lebanon, Conn., in 1762; died October 15, 1825; a "Hopkinsian," like Dr. Spring, of Newburyport. See J. N. Dummer, Brief History of Byfield Congregational Church; Appleton, Sprague, etc. See also *infra*, p. 76. Dr. Tucker's daughter, in her journal under date of July 7, 1788, shows in another aspect this interesting man the "vacancy" of whose countenance J. Q. Adams noted. Riding over to Byfield, she came into the midst of a revival; or, as she worded it, "Parson Parish, I find, is much celebrated as a divine, and has been so successful as to discompose many of his hearers," adding a distrust of the movement with the "great appearance of sanctity and this wild kind of enthusiasm." Thus the impression made by Dr. Parish during the first months of his ministry seems to have been characteristic of the man and of his career; from the begin-



return'd, and the lads pass'd the evening quite sociably with me till nine o'clock. Captain Wyer was here in the evening. He was, he says, an enthusiast for liberty in 1775, but finds it all a farce; he is now no less an enthusiast; and he may chance to find his present object, which is different enough from Liberty, more tragical than merry.<sup>1</sup> I finished this day with Sullivan's Lectures; and am not displeased to have gone through it.

21st. I read through Wright's short treatise upon the feudal tenures. I found nothing in it but what I had before read upon the subject in other writers. In the beginning of the next week, I shall take up Coke upon Littleton, which seems to be the great magazine for law knowledge, but it is one of those unlucky folios which appear so formidable to many students in the profession. I set myself down for three months at this book.

22d. I pass'd the day as usual at the office; but there was scarce a half an hour at a time without some visitor who entered into conversation with Mr. Parsons, and prevented us from paying any attention to our books. This is too frequently the case and much of our time is lost in that manner. Luckily this was to me a leisure day, and I only made a few extracts from Blackstone. Little pass'd the evening with me. Weather quite moderate. I should wish, in order to give some kind of variety to these pages, to bring in the aid of something more than a mere insipid narrative of my journeys from the office to my lodgings, and from my lodgings to the office. I have heretofore made free plunder with the characters of persons with whom I had any connections, but on many accounts I have found this a dangerous practice; for as I cannot keep these volumes so secret as I should wish to, and as the models may by some means get access to the picture, I am obliged either to forfeit my sincerity, even towards myself, or to run the risque of making enemies. My disposition has prompted me to prefer the latter evil and I have sometimes experienced the disadvantages of committing my real opinions to writing. I have been thinking whether the method of recording observations, without exemplifying characters, would not be equally agreeable to me without being dangerous. If my observations are collected from a concurrence of facts, and if they should be upon subjects of any consequence, I might in that manner pluck the

ning a vigorous personality, a rugged man, making on Alice Tucker almost as unfavorable an impression as on J. Q. Adams, yet wielding a great influence over the people to whom he ministered, and, later, in his denomination and political party. At a later date (January 4, 1790) Miss Tucker wrote: "Afternoon Parson Parish call'd and drank tea with us. He is a little, sociable man, and quite agreeable in conversation." Manuscript journal of Alice Tucker (1751-1803), now in the possession of the daughters of Mr. John Tucker Prince.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 46.

rose, without pricking my finger with the thorn. I believe I shall endeavour, though not immediately, to practise upon this plan.

23d. I went this forenoon to hear Parson Murray<sup>1</sup> preach. He expatiated somewhat largely upon the seventh commandment. I was not very much pleased with him, — his voice is clear and strong, and his delivery agreeable; but I have heard even extempore speakers preach more to my satisfaction. His arguments against a crime which must meet with general abhorrence were not, I think, the most forcible that might have been brought, and he extended it further than I thought reasonable. I did not attend meeting in the afternoon. We finally have got a violent snowstorm, which begun this morning, and has been acquiring force the whole day.

[On this day Mr. Adams wrote the following letter to his mother: —

“DEAR MADAM, — . . . In the beginning of September I came to this town, and began the study of law with Mr. Parsons. I could not possibly have an instructor more agreeable than this gentleman. His talents are great; his application has been indefatigable; and his professional knowledge is surpassed by no gentleman in the Commonwealth. The study itself is far from being so destitute of entertainment as I had been led to expect. I have read three or four authors with pleasure as well as improvement; and the imaginary terrors of tediousness and disgust have disappeared upon the first approach. But in their stead other fears have arisen which create more anxiety in my mind, and which will increase rather than subside. The popular odium which has been excited against the practitioners in this Commonwealth prevails to so great a degree that the most innocent and irreproachable life cannot guard a lawyer against the hatred of his fellow citizens. The very despicable writings of Honestus were just calculated to

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Murray, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church; born May 22, 1742, in Antrim, Ireland; educated at Edinburgh University; in May, 1766, a pastor at Philadelphia; in July, 1766, at Boothbay, Me.; had a career as an extempore speaker and evangelist like that of Whitefield; delegate from the Boothbay region to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, and took an active part in its proceedings; was so vigorous in behalf of the American cause that the British Commodore in the Maine waters in 1779 placed a reward of five hundred guineas on his head; by a stirring sermon rallied a company of volunteers in Newburyport; installed there June 4, 1781; died March 13, 1793; was esteemed an orator; known as “Damnation” Murray to distinguish him from “Salvation” Murray, who was then preaching in Massachusetts the faith of the Universalists. Jonathan Greenleaf and Captain William Coombs were elders in his church; among the names of his parishioners are to be found Titcomb, Knight, Tufts, etc. Some of the neighboring pastors, especially Dr. Spring, did not receive him into cordial fellowship. See A. G. Vermilye, *Memoir of Rev. John Murray in Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi. pp. 155-170; H. C. Hovey, *Origin and Annals of “The Old South” First Presbyterian Church*, pp. 37-42, 58, 190; J. J. Currier, “Ould Newbury,” p. 523; etc.

kindle a flame which will subaist long after they are forgotten. The author after being hoisted by this weak instrument into the Senate has already return'd to his native insignificancy, and under the new adopted signature of Candidus defends a good cause without ability and without success. But the poison has been so extensively communicated that its infection will not easily be stopped. A thousand lies in addition to those published in the papers have been spread all over the country to prejudice the people against the "order," as it has invidiously been called; and as a free people will not descend to disguise their sentiments, the gentlemen of the profession have been treated with contemptuous neglect and with insulting abuse. Yet notwithstanding all this the profession is increasing rapidly in numbers, and the little business to be done is divided into so many shares that they are in danger of starving one another. When I consider these disadvantages, which are in a degree peculiar to the present time, and those which at all times subsist, when I reflect that with good abilities, great application and a favourable fortune are requisite to acquire that eminence in the profession which can ensure a decent subsistence, I confess I am sometimes almost discouraged, and ready to wish I had engaged in some other line of life. But I am determined not to despond. With industry and frugality, with patience and perseverance it will be very hard if I cannot go through the world with honour. I am most resolutely determined not to spend my days in a dull tenor of insipidity. I never shall be enough of a stoic to raise myself beyond the reach of Fortune. But I hope I shall have so much resolution as shall enable me to receive prosperity without growing giddy and extravagant, or adversity without falling into despair.

I board at Mrs. Leathers's — a good old woman; who even an hundred years ago would have stood in no danger of being hang'd for witchcraft. She is however civil and obliging, and, what is very much in her favour, uncommonly silent — so that if I am deprived of the charms, I am also free from the impertinence of conversation. There is one boarder beside myself. A Dr. Kilham (I hope the name will not scare you), one of the representatives from this town, a very worthy man; and a man of sense and learning. Was it not for him I should be at my lodgings as solitary as an hermit. There is a very agreeable society in the town; though I seldom go into company.

I pass'd two or three days at Haverhill about a month ago, and had the pleasure of finding Mr. Thaxter. From the severest censurer of every trifling attentions between lovers, he became as fond a shepherd as ever was celebrated in the annals of Arcadia. He expects some peculiar animadversions from you, for his desertion of principles which he formerly boasted were so deeply rooted in his mind. But it is the old story of Benedick. The absurdity is not in abandoning a vain

ineffectual resolution; but it is in pretending to adopt a resolution which every day may be rendered futile.

I have frequently been prevented from expatiating in my letters upon political topics, by the sterility of the subject; uncommon fertility now produces the same effect. I can only say in general terms that parties run very high, and that we are most probably at the eve of a revolution. Whether it will be effected in silence and without a struggle, or whether it will be carried at the point of the sword is yet a question. The newspapers will show you how much the public is engaged in the discussion of the new continental form of government, which I fear will be adopted. . . .]

24th. Began upon Coke-Littleton, and read about a dozen pages. Pass'd about an hour in the evening with Mr. Parsons, playing backgammon. . . .

25th. Christmas day. Parson Bass preached a sermon, but I did not go to hear him. I dined with Townsend, and pass'd the afternoon there. At about dusk, I took a long walk with him, and then returned to my own lodgings. The Dr. this day took a ride out of town. In the evening I fell to speculating upon political subjects. I regret exceedingly that I have so little time at my own disposal. A thousand subjects call my attention, and excite my curiosity. Most of them I am obliged to pass from without noticing them at all; and the few to which I can afford any leisure, only lead me to regret that I cannot go deeper. The tedious study of a profession, which requires indefatigable industry and incessant application, is alone sufficient employment. But the arts and sciences in general, and in particular the liberal arts, must not be neglected. I suspect I shall soon drop this journal.

27th. St. John's Day. An entertainment for the Society of Free-Masons. In consequence of Stacey's exertions, we had this evening a good dance. There were only thirteen gentlemen and fifteen ladies. The diversion was general, and the company spirited. Upon such occasions there is almost always somebody who makes peculiar amusement for the rest of the company. A Captain Casey was this evening as singular as any of the gentlemen. As a Mason, he had the generosity of his heart at dinner rather than the reflections of prudence, and as this, like most virtues, increases by being put in action, he had not laid any illiberal restraints upon himself in the evening. It increased exceedingly his activity, and after all the company had done dancing he retained vigour to walk a minuet and to skip in reels. In all this there was nothing but was perfectly innocent; yet so fond are the sons of men to remark their respective foibles, that the Captain was not totally exempted from the smiles of the company. This was the most particular circumstance that took place. In general I was much pleased. It

was between four and five in the morning before we broke up. Putnam came and sat an hour with me and Little in garrulous conversation. A little after the clock struck five, Putnam went home; and I much fatigued retired to bed.

28th. We rose between ten and eleven in the forenoon. Little took a breakfast with me; after which I went to the office, but felt entirely incapable of doing anything serious. I pass'd the time therefore till dinner in idle chat. In the afternoon, I passed an hour with Dr. Kilham; and again repaired to the office, with as little success as ever. In the evening, all the gentlemen who were last night at the dance were at Putnam's lodgings. We drank and smoked and sang there till nine o'clock; but, notwithstanding a forced appearance of hilarity was kept up, there was in fact no real mirth. All were fatigued by the last night's siege, and unable to bear another, such as the inexhaustible spirits of Amory would have relished. At nine therefore we retired, and not long after I got home, I went to bed.

29th. Not entirely recovered yet from the fatigue of Thursday night; but could in some measure attend to reading. Mr. Parsons's students all dined with him. Master Moody,<sup>1</sup> from Byfield, with a son of Dartmouth by the name of Parish were likewise of the company. Mr. Parish has to perfection the appearance and manners which have distinguished all the young gentlemen from that seminary with whom I have had any acquaintance, — the same uncouthness in his appearance, the same awkwardness in his manners, and, really I am not illiberal if I add, the same vacancy in his countenance. That a man should not at the same time make a scholar and a fine gentleman, that the graces and the muses should refuse to reside in the same mansion, is what I have never thought strange; that they seldom unite is at once my sorrow and my consolation; but the students of Dartmouth, appear

<sup>1</sup> Master Samuel Moody (H. C. 1746), the genial and eccentric preceptor of Dummer Academy. Born April 18, 1726, at York; a teacher there for sixteen or seventeen years; first preceptor of Dummer Academy 1762-1790; a bachelor; died December, 1795, at Exeter, N. H. Held in the highest and most affectionate esteem by pupils such as President Willard and Professor Webber of Harvard, Theophilus Parsons and Rufus King, with a long and honorable record of service over a flourishing school, his best days were in the past. The son of "Handkerchief Moody" and grandson of "Faithful Moody," the eccentricities of his character and intellect were becoming so pronounced as to impair his usefulness and compel his resignation. Again Miss Tucker's impression is in accord with that of J. Q. Adams, for a year later, December 8, 1788, she calls him the "vociferous Master Moody," and speaks of "his high sounding volubility." And on May 9, 1790, writes: "Master Moody spent the day with us — how he embarrasses one by his gross extravagant compliments — certainly he does not possess any true politeness, and is a stranger to that delicate sensibility which is cautious of offending." Manuscript Journal of Alice Tucker. N. Cleaveland, *The First Century of Dummer Academy*, pp. xiii-xvii, 19-33. See *infra*, p. 85.

determined to raise no rivalry between these sets of sisters, and therefore discard them all. Mr. Moody was extremely full of high flown compliments; the grossest, the most fulsome flattery was incessantly in his mouth. Every virtue and every accomplishment he lavished away upon the company, with so little consideration that he seemed to forget that modesty was in the list. He went off however very soon after dinner. By G. Bradbury,<sup>1</sup> I received a couple of letters from Cambridge which gave me no agreeable news. Bradbury was with me in the evening; he relieved me in some measure from my fears. The Colleges, it seems, in the course of the last quarter have been in great confusion, and the students are much irritated.

30th. Attending meeting the whole day at Mr. Carey's. Dined at Mr. Hooper's<sup>2</sup> in company with Mr. Symmes, who return'd in the afternoon to Andover. In the evening I walk'd with Dr. Kilham to Mr. Carter's; found nobody at home. We then went and pass'd the evening with Mrs. Emery. The conversation was agreeable, tho' not extremely interesting.

31st. In the evening I went with Townsend to see Miss Cazneau, and to fulfill a promise of playing on the flute for her, which I made some weeks ago, and renew'd last Thursday. The character of Miss C. I propose to delineate at a future period, if I should continue to draw any.<sup>3</sup> At eight I left her and pass'd the remainder of the evening at Mrs. Hooper's.

The night which puts a period to the revolving year always presents to my mind a crowd of the most serious reflections. But none are more important than those upon the shortness of human life. A twentieth part of the days of man has nearly elapsed since I began this journal; yet how uninteresting the events! how much of that period lost! how much mis-spent! but revert the question: how much employed to make me wiser, better and more useful? Ah! how shall I answer?

<sup>1</sup> George Bradbury (H. C. 1789), son of Theophilus Bradbury, born in Portland October 10, 1770; a lawyer in Portland; a member of the Massachusetts Legislature 1802 (from Newburyport), 1806-1810, 1811-1812 (from Portland); a Representative in Congress 1813-1817; etc.; died November 17, 1823. W. B. Lapham, Bradbury Memorial, pp. 89, 118, 119.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 67. February 24, 1789, Alice Tucker wrote: "Miss Cazneau came from town and took tea with me; lively conversation; she is a young lady of humour, and very volatile"; and again, December 9: "The lively laughing Miss Cazneau came in the afternoon and took tea with us." It is evident, from an entry in this journal of March 24, 1789, that this family had known days of greater prosperity, but were then reduced "to indigence." Manuscript journal of Alice Tucker.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1788.

Pass'd the day and evening at the office. Read at my own lodgings till one o'clock in the morning. I feel every day a greater disposition to drop this nonsense. It takes up a great deal of my time; and, as it is incessantly calling upon me, I can never have any respite. In the extreme cold of winter I have no convenience for writing, and was it not for the pleasure of complaining to myself, I believe I should have done long ago. I often get in arrears, and then I have as much time to recollect the circumstances of one day, as at other times I have to write for four. These inconveniences however are most prevalent in the severity of the winter season. As I have got so far through this, and more particularly as I have now begun the year, I will make an effort to carry it on for one more revolution of the sun; and, if I then feel as averse to writing as at present, I will e'en stop, at least while the events in which I am concern'd are as trivial as they are at present. One consideration upon this subject, at least, affords me some satisfaction: it is, that when I look back in these volumes, and peruse the temporary productions of my pen, I am at least able to say at the close of the day, that day I did something.

2d. In the beginning of the evening Putnam called at our office, and invited me to go with him and pass a couple of hours at Mr. Frazier's;<sup>1</sup> after debating with myself some time upon the subject, I determined finally to go. We found there a number of young gentlemen and ladies. After we had sat a little while the infallible request to sing made its appearance. One could not sing, and another could not sing, and a total incapacity to sing was declared all round the room. If upon such occasions every one would adhere to his first assertion it would be very agreeable, at least to me; for in these mixt companies, when the musical powers are finally exerted, the only recompense for the intolerable tediousness of urging generally is a few very insipid songs, sung in a very insipid manner. But the misfortune is that some one always relents, and by singing furnishes the only materials for a conversation which consists in intreaties for further gratifications of the same kind. When we had gone through this ceremony and had grown weary of it, another equally stupid succeeded. It was playing pawns: a number of pledges were given all round, and kissing was the only condition upon which they were redeem'd. Ah! what kissing! 'tis a profanation of one of the most endearing demonstrations of Love. A kiss unless warm'd by sentiment

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Moses Frazier, a member of the Committee of Safety of September 23, 1774; selectman 1778-1781, 1786, town treasurer 1782; representative in the Legislature 1777, 1778, 1781. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1738-1740, 1744.

and enlivened by affection may just as well be given to the air as to the most beautiful or the most accomplished object in the Universe. After going through this likewise, as if the Pope had done us any injury, nothing would do but we must break his neck. It is the fate of the poor representative of St. Peter to be abused at this day. But we were peculiarly cruel, for we persecuted him without any kind of advantage to ourselves. Thus we pass'd the heavy hours till about ten o'clock, when we all retired. I did intend to mention the young ladies that were present and give my sentiments upon their persons and manners; but this day has already usurp'd more than its proportion of the volume, and I will take some other opportunity for delineating. For the present I will quit the pen.

3d. Pass'd the evening at Little's in Newbury. A Mr. Coffin,<sup>1</sup> who graduated two years ago at Harvard, was there. We spent our time in sociable chat and in singing; not such unmeaning, insignificant songs as those with which we killed our time last evening, but good, jovial, expressive songs such as we sang at College, "when mirth and jollity prevail'd." One evening of this kind gives me more real satisfaction than fifty pass'd in a company of girls. (I beg their pardon.)

4th. Nothing. It would be a fine theme to expatiate upon. It has been well expatiated on. When I look around me and see the vices, the follies, the errors of my fellow creatures, when I look into myself and enquire into the springs and motives of my actions, when I look forward and ask what am I to do, what am I to expect, an involuntary sigh acknowledges that *nothing* is the only answer. In the physical world, what are sensual gratifications, what is the earth, and all it contains, what is life itself?—nothing. In the moral world, what is honour, what is honesty, what is religion?—nothing. In the political world, what is liberty, what is patriotism, what is power and grandeur?—nothing. The universe is an atom, and its creator is all in all. Of him, except that he exists, we know nothing, and consequently our knowledge is nothing. Perhaps the greatest truth of all is, that for this half hour I have been doing nothing.

5th. I have this week been reading Cecilia,<sup>2</sup> a novel of some reputation; it was written by a lady, and does not exhibit that knowledge of human nature, which is the greatest excellency, perhaps, of novels. Some of the characters, however, are well drawn; they are generally exaggerated, and appear rather too strongly marked for perfect imitations of nature. The characters of Miss Larolles and of Meadows appear to

<sup>1</sup> Charles Coffin (H. C. 1785), born in Newbury September 4, 1765; a teacher and physician in Portsmouth, N. H., and afterwards at Beaufort, S. C.; died September, 1820. J. J. Currier, *Hist. of Newbury*, p. 669.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Burney's "Cecilia," in five volumes, had then been published six years. In 1793 she married General D'Arbly.



me original and true, that of Lady Pemberton is pleasing, but merely an imitation. The story in general is well told and the interest is preserved; but in many places probability is not sufficiently consulted, and the repetitions of the mistakes at Belfield's lodgings become tedious and wearisome; the catastrophe is not just as I should wish it, yet perhaps it is more judicious than it would have been to have preserved her fortune. If the book was made shorter by two volumes, I think it would be much better than it is; but even now it is infinitely superior to the common herd of novels, which are mere nuisances to Literature. I passed the evening quite in a solitary way at my own lodgings. The weather has this week been extremely cold.

6th. Heard Mr. Carey preach two sermons this day; but the weather was very cold. In the afternoon the Parson was extremely vehement; in an occasional discourse upon the renewal of the year, he complained exceedingly that the language of the people was "the time is not come," and, with all his powers of eloquence and of reasoning, he exerted to prove that the time is come. He was rather too violent: his zeal was so animated that he almost had the appearance of being vexed and chagrined. But he said he was not aiming at popularity. Passed the evening with Dr. Kilham at Mr. Carter's, where we had a whole magazine of antiquity. Miss Sally Jenkins was there. I was pleased with her manners. She is of the middling female size and has a fine form, the features of her face are regular, and were not the nose too much inclined to the aquiline, would be very handsome. Twenty two, I should think her age; but perhaps she is two or three years younger. She conversed not much, and indeed in the state of female education here there are very few young ladies who talk and yet preserve our admiration. For my own part, the most difficult task that could be assigned me would be to carry on a conversation with one of our fine ladies; the topics upon which they are able to be fluent are so totally different from any of those with which I have ever been conversant, that I feel the same embarrassment that I should with one whose language I should be wholly unacquainted with. This is not meant however to apply to Miss Jenkins, who is, I hope, of a different cast; perhaps I shall discover on a better acquaintance attractions in her besides those of person, and they will appear the more amiable as they are the more rare.

7th. . . . At eight o'clock I left the office, and went to Dr. Swett's, where I found Little very agreeably situated. He had been writing part of a letter to Freeman. I join'd with him, and scribbled about half a page upon the subject of Miss Cazneau. I know not but I should have done best to adopt the prudent style of panegyric; but what is done cannot be helped, and I must run my chance of incurring the tremendous resentment of an offended female. If she should discover

what I have written, my only resource would be to flatter her. This I believe would be an infallible recipe for appeasing her. While I was sitting with Little, the sexton came in. "You mentioned a matter to me the other day," said he; "and I met with one yesterday; all entire. Has been there but a few years. The flesh has sunk away not much; rather dirty, as the clods fell on him as I was digging; but it's easy to wash that away. If you want one now, you may have him early to-morrow morning." Little told him such an one would not answer his purpose, not being fresh enough. I bless'd myself for not being a student in physic, and for being exempted from an application to any art by means against which humanity revolts. How much is an honest and a humane physician to be respected and esteemed! no man certainly can render himself useful to his fellow creatures in a manner more painful and disgusting to himself, and few men have a poorer prospect of obtaining the reward of their labours; in this country especially. I sat about an hour with Little, after which I retired to my own lodgings.

8th. It snow'd all the forenoon; but, as the weather kept continually moderating, in the afternoon it began to rain, and before the weather cleared up the snow was almost gone. I went with Townsend, and drank coffee at Mr. Thompson's. His son goes to Boston to-morrow. I gave him my letter for Cranch. After we went from there, we called in at Putnam's lodgings, and found Captain Noyes there. Mr. Townsend soon went away. I sat there till after nine o'clock, and heard the doleful story of the clock upon Mr. Murray's meeting house,<sup>1</sup> which the other night kept striking without ceasing almost the whole night, and how it is an indisputable omen, foreboding the death of the Parson, who is very sick. Superstition and bigotry will ever be inseparable companions, and they are always the tyrants of a mean and contracted mind.

9th. This day our State Convention is to meet in Boston for the purpose of assenting to and ratifying the Federal Constitution. The members from this town went for Boston yesterday, except Mr. Parsons, who will go to-morrow. The conjectures concerning the issue of their debates are different, according to the dispositions of the speculators. Some think there will be a great majority for adopting the Constitution, while others hope the opposite party will greatly preponderate. In the evening I play'd with Mr. Parsons at back-gammon, and was beat by him. After leaving the office, I pass'd the remainder of the evening with Townsend at Mrs. Hooper's.

<sup>1</sup> This clock had a hexagonal dial with a single arrow extending across it to mark the hours—minutes in those slow days not being worth counting. H. C. Hovey, *Origin and Annals of "The Old South,"* First Presbyterian Church, pp. 191, 192.

10th. Between eleven and twelve Mr. Parsons went for Boston. . . . I went this evening to Dr. Swett's with the intention to pass the evening there, but neither the Doctor nor his lady were at home. I called upon Putnam, and would have gone with him to Mr. Bradbury's, but they were all out. I met Little in the street; he came home with me, and sat half an hour. The Convention met at Boston yesterday, about three hundred members present. They chose Mr. Hancock President, and, as his infirmities are such as will probably prevent him frequently from attending, Judge Cushing was chosen Vice-President. But they have not yet proceeded to business of any consequence, nor does it appear which party is most likely to prevail. From which we may perhaps infer that in either case the majority will be small.

12th. Saturday evening I was, as usual, all the evening at my own lodgings. I spent my time in reading Gibbon's Roman history, second volume, and now at twelve at night, upon compulsion, I am to say something for myself. And I know nothing better than to testify that at Mr. Parsons's office I have lost a great part of this week by conversing with him and with Townsend. Mr. P. is now gone to Boston, and I hope to God I shall not go on in this way squandering week after week, till at the end of three years I shall go out of the office as ignorant as I entered it. I cannot, must not, be so negligent. All my hopes of going through the world in any other than the most contemptible manner depend upon my own exertions, and if I continue thus trifling away my time, I shall become an object of charity or at least of pity. God of Heaven! if those are the only terms upon which life can be granted to me, oh! take me from this world before I curse the day of my birth. Or rather, give me resolution to pursue my duty with diligence and application, that if my fellow creatures should neglect and despise me, at least I may be conscious of not deserving their contempt.

13th. This morning Townsend called on me, and invited me to go and hear Parson Tucker. We met Little in the street, who turn'd about, and walk'd that way with us. When we got to the meeting house we found there was to be no service there in the forenoon, and as it was then too late to go any where else we turn'd back and went home. Dined with Dr. Kilham at Dr. Swett's, and Little dined with us. We spent the afternoon and drank tea there. Mrs. Swett is handsome, and, like most of our ladies, is perfectly acquainted with the various forms of propriety in company which have been established here. She has too much good breeding to know any thing upon speculative subjects, and she has a proper aversion to politics. She has, however, I believe, a good understanding, and is infinitely superior to many of our female beauties who flutter in all the pride of variegated colours. After I return'd home, Thompson called and delivered me a

letter from W. Cranch. I went with the Dr. to see Mr. Jackson,<sup>1</sup> but he was not at home, and we called in at Mrs. Emery's.<sup>2</sup> This lady and her daughter converse more to my satisfaction than the generality of my female acquaintance. In their company my time passes away fast; and I am not often able to say as much.

14th. . . . This evening I went with Townsend in the first place to Mr. Atkins's; this too is an house where I always visit with pleasure, as I am always sure to meet with good sense and sociability. From thence we went to Mr. J. Tracey's, where we found three ladies, all drest in the deepest mourning, and Captn. Farris,<sup>3</sup> who lately lost his wife. Mrs. Tracey is much such a lady as Mrs. Swett, though there are a few distinguishing characteristics. Her husband is a singularity. But he is a justice of the peace and deputy adjutant general of the militia; and with equal importance and dignity he wields the scales of justice and the sword of Bellona. He frequently tells of his judicial performances, and takes pleasure in boasting that to do his duty he must see every man in the county once a year. But he is friendly and hospitable, and indeed, except when mounted on one of his two hobby-horses, a very good companion.

15th. After passing the day as usual at the office, Townsend came, spent the evening, and supp'd with me. The weather for these three or four days past has been excessive cold; but has moderated greatly

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Jonathan Jackson (H. C. 1761), son of Edward Jackson, of Boston, and Dorothy Quincy, of Braintree; born in Boston June, 1743; classmate of Stephen Hooper, Colonel Edward Wigglesworth, Rev. Thomas Cary, of Newburyport, and Professor Samuel Williams, of Cambridge; intimate friend of John Lowell (H. C. 1760); began his business life as a clerk in the office of Captain Patrick Tracy, of Newburyport; married, as a second wife, in 1772, Tracy's daughter, Hannah. In 1771 Jackson and Lowell bought land on High Street and built companion houses, — Jackson's being known later as the "Timothy Dexter" house. Jackson was a member of the Committee of Safety in 1774; a representative to the Provincial Congress at Watertown; a delegate to the Continental Congress 1781, 1782; moved to Boston in May, 1785; marched under General Lincoln to suppress Shays's Rebellion in 1786; soon after that returned to Newburyport; in 1789 was United States marshal for the district of Massachusetts and was living in one half of what is now the Public Library Building; removed to Boston again in 1795; was treasurer of Massachusetts five years and of Harvard College three years; died March 5, 1810. J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 564-569, — a portrait of Jackson painted about 1784 is reproduced there.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Margaret Gookin Emery, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, of Northwood, N. H., wife of John Emery; born August 11, 1745; died August 12, 1788; mother of Hannah Emery; see *supra*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably William Farris, born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1753; came to America when twelve years of age; joined the expedition against Quebec; served on the sea first as midshipman and later as commander of a privateer; suffered imprisonment several times; became after the war a merchant in Newburyport; was a Representative in the Legislature 1827-1838; married Fanny Jenkins; died in 1837. E. V. Smith, *Hist. of Newburyport*, pp. 369, 370; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 1741.

this evening. After supper I amused myself an hour or two with writing; and I have been reading two or three of Shakespear's historical plays. I believe I should improve my reading to greater advantage, if I confined myself to one book at a time; but I never can. If a book does not interest me exceedingly it is a task to me to go through it; and I fear for this reason, I shall never get through Gibbon. Indolence, indolence, I fear, will be my ruin.

✓ 16th. It snow'd all the forenoon; but the weather continued moderating, and in the afternoon a steady rain took place of the snow; and when I came this evening from the office, the ground was covered all the way with one continual glare of ice. It was dangerous walking, and I came as much as half the way without lifting my feet. I spent the evening at home, writing to make good the time which I have lately lost; but I accomplished my purpose only in part. It may be observed that I say of late little but of what I do in the evening; and the reason is, that the only varieties of any kind that take place are in that part of the day. At about nine in the morning I regularly go to the office, and when I do not lose my time in chat with Amory or Townsend, I take up my Lord Coke, and blunder along a few pages with him. At two I return to dinner; at three again attend at the office, and again consult my old author. There I remain till dark, and as Mr. Parsons for special reasons, to him best known, objects to our having a fire in the office in the evening while he is absent, as soon as day-light begins to fail we put up our books, and then employ the remainder of the day as best suits our convenience and the feelings of the moment. I go but little into company, and yet I am not industrious. I am recluse, without being studious; and I find myself equally deprived of the pleasures of society, and of the sweet communion with the mighty dead. I am no stranger to the midnight lamp; yet I observe not that I make a rapid progress in any laudable pursuit. I begin seriously to doubt of the goodness of my understanding, and am not without my fears that as I increase in years the dulness of my apprehension likewise increases. But we are all mortal.

17th. Putnam called at our office this forenoon, and return'd Sullivan's Lectures, which he borrow'd about a fortnight ago. I pass'd the evening till nine with Little and Putnam at Thompson's. We convers'd upon the subject of originality. Thompson opposed my sentiments upon that head, though I believe he does not differ very widely from me. I told him I was fond of novelty in characters, and was even pleased with excentricity if it was not affected. I cannot bear your people who have no characters at all. And yet I could name many young gentlemen, who, being merely blest by nature with a good memory, and by art with diligence and application, bustle through the world, and even find people who will call them men of genius. . . .

18th. This afternoon I wrote a couple of letters to send by Mr. Atkins, who goes to Boston to-morrow. One for N. Freeman, and the other from [for?] W<sup>m</sup> Cranch; and as I could not finish before dark I ventured to stay in the office till seven o'clock. I then went with Townsend to Mr. Atkins's, to give him the letters. Miss Dashwood was there, a young lady from Boston. She speaks thick and quick, which is at present all I have to say of her, except that by candle-light she looks handsome. I came home; and then went with the Doctor to Mrs. Emery's. There we found Mrs. Jackson and Miss Fletcher.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Jackson looks better than I ever saw her, and was in high spirits. She talk'd almost all the time, and would have talk'd well, had she not appeared rather too fond, in repeating some gentleman's speeches, to render every word, even those which are most superfluous, words which if used before women, even by a man, at least argue ill-breeding, but which the lips of every woman ought to be ignorant of pronouncing. Miss Fletcher sat two hours, and scarcely opened her mouth. The poor girl is in love, and when her friend is absent she can utter nothing but sighs. This evening, it is true, she had no chance to speak, but she was not only silent but absent. She did not appear to enjoy the conversation, and all Mrs. Jackson's wit could scarcely soften her features to a smile. After they were gone, we sat there about half an hour in chat with Miss Emery. She is Thompson's favorite, and in this as in many other instances he shows the goodness of his taste.

19th. At home all the evening. Master Moody called to see me; "Don't you think, said he, that I am very condescending thus to come and visit you?" It might be very true, considering the dignity which his years have given him, but the address was very much that of a schoolmaster, whose habits of commanding give him a prescriptive title to importance. He sat with me about an hour, and then departed. I have been more attentive to studies this week than I was the last. I have made considerable progress in my folio, and have got some insight into one or two particulars which had hitherto been involv'd in intricacy and obscurity. I have spent three evenings this week in my own room, and have in some measure retrieved my particular arrears. The weather has been very favorable, so that I have not been forced to drop my pen from the stiffness of my fingers. The winter is already far advanced, and is now rapidly passing away. I can afford, if the severity of the weather should require it, to fall back once or twice more; and the extremity cannot, I think, last so long as to make me lose the thread of my adventures. It seems as if we were fated to have no lasting snow this winter. It snow'd again all this forenoon; but so soon as a suf-

<sup>1</sup> Lucy Fletcher, probably the daughter of Captain John Fletcher; married "her friend," William Amory, August 9, 1789.

ficient quantity had fallen to make good sleighing, it turn'd to rain, which, I suppose, will sweep it all away again.

20th. I attended at Parson Carey's meeting. We had two sermons, in continuation of a subject upon which he preached last Sunday; the excellency of Christianity. I pass'd the whole evening in writing very industriously; not a little to the increase of this volume. It thaw'd all last night, but not so as to carry off all the snow. The streets were like a river the chief of the day, but at about five the wind got round to the north-west and blew with some violence. In two hours time the streets were dry, and the ice strong enough to bear a man. I think I never saw a more sudden or a greater alteration in the weather. The wind subsided to a degree before midnight, but left it very cold. And now I bid adieu to my pen and to my book.

21st. I began upon the third book of the first part of the Institutes,<sup>1</sup> and read a few pages as usual. In the evening I again look'd into Gibbon, and made some progress in his second volume. I have also been reading for these two or three days past the letters from a Chinese Philosopher,<sup>2</sup> which are a number of essays upon various subjects, wrought into a kind of a novel. They are entertaining, and exhibit no bad picture of English manners. The accounts from Boston this evening are disagreeable. The opposite parties in the Convention grow warm and irritable; Mr. Dana and Mr. Gerry, it is said, have come to an open and public rupture.<sup>3</sup> Mr. B. Lincoln,<sup>4</sup> the General's

<sup>1</sup> "Institutes of the Laws of England; or Commentary on Littleton" — *i. e.*, Coke upon Littleton.

<sup>2</sup> This work by Oliver Goldsmith — "The Citizen of the World; or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher residing in London, to his Friends in the East" — had been published twenty-five years before, in 1762.

<sup>3</sup> A letter dated Boston, January 19, 1788, and written by J. Q. Adams's youngest classmate, John Forbes, a lad of sixteen, gives a rather interesting if boyish view of this well-known episode: —

"... The Convention are now sitting in this town. I have attended the debates till I have become quite interested. The weight of argument offer'd is so much in favor of the Constitution that I cannot but at present beg to dissent with you and term myself a Federalist. I am sorry to inform you that your opinion is so poorly advocated — there is not a man of education that dare speak in opposition to the plan, there are but few on that side, and those few, fearing conviction, are fortifying their prejudiced minds with adamantine obstinacy. The characters that support it are so respectable that shou'd it be rejected in this State it will retire without a blush — Dana, King, Gorham, Strong, Parsons, Cabot, Ames and Sedgwick are characters so pure that nothing but Gerry's spirit of opposition cou'd soil. The Anti have made every exertion in their power and have got Gerry as a dictionary to use occasionally. They remind me of the old proverb — 'give 'em an inch and they'll take an ell.'

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Lincoln (H. C. 1777), born in Hingham November 1, 1766; studied law with Levi Lincoln, of Worcester; an attorney in Boston; died January 18, 1788. Hist. of Hingham, vol. i. part ii. p. 332.

son, and Dr. Adams,<sup>1</sup> son to the president of the Senate, died last week.

22d. This afternoon, Leonard White called on me, and sat about half an hour. He came from Haverhill this morning, and returns to night. Between four and five I received an invitation from Putnam and F. Bradbury to join them for a party at sleighing. Though not peculiarly desirous to go I did not refuse; and at about six o'clock we started. We went to Sawyer's<sup>2</sup> tavern, about three miles off, and there danced till between twelve and one. The company was rather curiously sorted, but the party was agreeable. I danced with the eldest Miss Frazier, with Miss Fletcher, and with Miss Coats.<sup>3</sup> Miss Fletcher appears to be about twenty. She is not tall, but has what is called a very genteel shape. Her complexion is fair, and her eye is sometimes animated with a very pleasing expression; but unfortunately she is in love, and unless the object of her affections is present she loses all her spirits, grows dull and unsociable, and can be pleased with nothing. This evening she was obliged to dispense with his company; and the usual effect took place. I endeavour'd as much as possible to bring on a conversation; but all to no purpose.

"She sat like Patience on a monument,  
Smiling at grief."<sup>4</sup>



she is an only daughter and her father has money. We return'd to town a little after twelve; but the weather was not very agreeable, as it snow'd violently. After we had carried home the ladies, Putnam came to lodge with me. We sat and chatted about an hour, and then retired to bed.

23d. . . . I pass'd the evening at Dr. Swett's. Mrs. and Miss Cazneau were there. We had some agreeable and entertaining conversation, but singing soon came on to the carpet, and then the usual nonsense succeeded. I believe I will try one of these days and see if I cannot stop the career of this same singing, at least for one evening. I even got quit this time with singing once. In order not to appear singular, I was in the common way urging Miss Cazneau to sing; she told me she would upon condition that I should sing first. I humm'd over a tune; but avoided claiming the fulfilment of Miss C's promise, and so she would not sing, which happened very much to my satisfaction. A short time before nine I left them.

24th. Mr. Atkins returned from Boston, but brought me no letters, which is somewhat surprizing to me. The quaternity pass'd the evening at Putnam's lodgings. Little left us, however, at about eight o'clock. Townsend came in soon after; and between nine and ten I walk'd with him. I began yesterday upon another attempt to ascend Parnassus; and this time I am determined to take it leisurely. I have frequently made a trial of my strength in this way; but my patience has always been overcome after proceeding but little. I have, I suppose, begun an hundred times to write poetry. I have tried every measure and every kind of strophe, but of the whole I never finish'd but one of any length, and that was in fact but the work of a day. It is contained in a former volume of this Journal.<sup>1</sup> I fear I shall end this time as I always do. The Convention are now proceeding in the examination of the proposed Constitution by sections; but we cannot yet presume how the scale will turn.

25th. Leonard White came from Haverhill again yesterday, and called to see me this morning. He informed me that both my brothers were at Haverhill. In the evening I went with him to Dr. Swett's, and pass'd an hour with Little. I communicated to Little my design of drawing a number of female characters, but I doubt whether it will ever be anything more than a design.

26th. At home as usual all the evening. Read a little in Gibbon. Wrote in the same slavish way as I have done now for more than three years. But I feel dull and low spirited. I have neither that insatiable ambition, nor that ardor for pursuing the means to gratify it, which not long ago was an argument which my vanity offered my mind to prove that, if life should be given me, it would not be to live unknown-

<sup>1</sup> Printed by H. Adams in *Historical Essays*, pp. 118-121.

ing and unknown. I feel no extraordinary inclination for study of any kind. Putnam reads law as fast, or faster than I do; and, if there is to be no alteration in the situation of my mind, he will make greater improvements in his three years than I shall in mine. Before the cold weather came on, I expected to derive great advantage from the long winter evenings which were approaching. In my imagination, I had written volumes and read books without number. Yet so totally different has been the event, that I have written scarcely any thing except what this book contains, and, though I began Gibbon three months ago, I have not got half through the second volume. In my Lord Coke I trudge along at the rate of about eighty pages a week, and do not understand a quarter part of that. Yet when I call myself to an account an[d] enquire how I mis-spend my time, I do not find a spirit of dissipation in my conduct. I have, I believe, upon an average, spent one half of my evenings this winter at home; and, when I do, I almost always hear the morning clock. I somewhat suspect that irregularity is one great cause of my poor success, and, as I am peculiarly fond of trying experiments, I will attempt soon to be periodical in my visits at home and abroad. If this will not do, I can only submit to my fate.

27th. Heard Parson Carey, the whole day. In the forenoon he was intolerably lengthy, as the weather was very cold. I intended to have visited somewhere this evening, but got engaged in writing to Packard, which employ'd me till ten o'clock.

28th. Mrs. Hooper's family are in great distress. Ben was brought home dead last night between twelve and one o'clock, and to make the misfortune as great as possible there is every reason to suppose that he was the wilful author of his death. He had been from town more than a week, and on Saturday night he took a quantity of liquid laudanum at Robertson's tavern in Salem; he died in violent convulsions in the course of the same night. The verdict of the coroner's jury, it is said, was wilful self murder, but the information is indirect, and therefore not entirely to be depended upon. To his mother the shock must be dreadful. Indeed she seems to have been marked out for misfortune. Her father was formerly one of the wealthiest merchants in this town, and her education was suitable to his fortune. She married a Mr. Hooper, whose circumstances were no less advantageous, and entered, but little more than twenty years ago, upon the stage of the world with the most pleasing prospects. But her husband was a man of pleasure and dissipation, and moreover opposed to the late revolutions, wherefore he left the country at the beginning of the late war, and went to England, where he still remains; since that time she has been reduced to the necessity of supporting herself and her three children by taking boarders. For although several of her husband's nearest connections are still persons of the greatest affluence that

are in the town, yet she has never received much assistance from them.

*Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos :  
Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris.*

She endeavoured to educate her children as well as possible ; but a father's care was wanting, and indulgence is the defect even of the most accomplished women. Ben, for several years, had followed the sea, and, in the fall, was disappointed of sailing with Callahan for London. He had been very dissipated and debauched ; he found himself destitute of employment ; his reputation lost, his means of continuing in the course of life which he was pursuing gone, and his resolution insufficient to reform his conduct. He determined to put an end to all the disagreeable feelings of his mind, and to "die in the bed of honour," as he expressed it. He was scarce nineteen years old. Such was the deplorable fate of a youth, whose disposition was such that he would have injured no one but himself, and who might have been an ornament to society had he been educated under the prudent severity of a judicious father. They intend to bury him to-morrow, but it is doubtful whether the unfeeling passions of the multitude will suffer them to make a public funeral. My brothers Charles and Tom came into town this forenoon. After dinner, I took a ride in a sleigh up to Sawyer's, with three of the Bradburys and Charles ; drank tea at Mr. Tufts's. I pass'd the evening and supped at Mr. Jackson's. Dr. Kilham was there, and as usual conversed upon political subjects. Charles spent the evening at Mr. Frazier's, but came and lodged with me.

29th. It snow'd part of the forenoon ; then turn'd to rain, and, after making the streets very disagreeable, cleared up in the afternoon. I dined with my brothers at Mr. Bradbury's. We had some conversation upon the subject of Ben Hooper's funeral. I could not agree in sentiment with Mr. Bradbury. I told him that although I abhor'd the action itself as much as any one, yet after a man was dead to refuse to attend his funeral would only be an insult upon the feelings of his friends, without being any kind of punishment to him. And indeed I cannot but think that laws against suicide are impolitic and cruel, for how can it be expected that human laws, which cannot take hold of the offender personally, should restrain from the commission of this crime the man who could disregard the natural and divine laws, which upon this subject are so deeply imprinted upon the heart ? When we consider too how easily such a law may be evaded, how many ways a man might put a period to his own existence without exposing himself to the severity of any law that the human fancy could invent, we can only suppose that these punishments must fall merely upon a thoughtless youth, or upon one ignorant of the existence of such regulations.

Mr. Bradbury, however, thinks differently and is perhaps in the right. I pass'd about an hour in the evening with Putnam; he then went with G. Bradbury and my brothers into a company of young ladies; and I cross'd the street and sat till nine o'clock with my friend Thompson. Tom lodg'd with me.

30th. I went up to the office in the morning, and sat a couple of hours; but I felt restless and dissipated. I could not study, and therefore walk'd down in town and saunter'd about. Dined with G. Bradbury and Charles at Mr. Hooper's. He is very sanguine in his hopes for the adoption of the Constitution. Pass'd the evening at Mr. Bradbury's. Dr. Smith and all his family were there. We had some music in the beginning of the evening, and afterwards play'd a number of very amusing sports, such as start; what is it like; cross questions; I love my love with an A; and a number more. My opinion of such diversions I have already given, when it was confined to a number of young persons; but that the most inexcusable levities of youth should appear in the garb of old-age is something that calls for more than disapprobation, nor will a grey hair'd trifler excite our pity merely, but must raise our indignation and contempt. Mr. Bradbury,<sup>1</sup> however, is a very respectable man; and, as this conduct has here the sanction of custom, it is not him but the manners of the times that I blame.

31st. The weather somewhat cold. My brothers dined with me, and between three and four o'clock we all set off for Haverhill. We got there just after five, a little fatigued. The riding was not bad, but in some places the cold had not been strong enough to harden the snow and the road was sloppy.

Friday, February 1, 1788.

Pass'd a great part of the forenoon at Mr. Thaxter's. He is now quite in the family way; he dined with us at Mr. Shaw's, as did Leonard White and ——. In the afternoon we rode in a couple of sleighs about six miles down upon the river, and return'd just after dark. The party was agreeable; but —— was an object of great pity. He has ruined his reputation irrevocably; the fairest life henceforward could only heal the wound; but the treacherous fear must forever proclaim in indelible characters that he once fell. Nor can his dearest friends help acknowledging to themselves that this is viewing the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Theophilus Bradbury (see *supra*, p. 40) was apparently fond of a social good time. In 1766, it is said, he and his wife "with several leading citizens of Falmouth" (*i. e.*, Portland) were indicted for the crime of dancing at a tavern; but won the case in the courts on the plea that the room was not a place of public resort because hired for private purposes, etc. W. B. Lapham, Bradbury Memorial, p. 89.

prospect in its fairest light. To consider the appearances such as they must present themselves to the imagination of one disposed to see objects in their most unfavorable colours, must be shocking to the feelings of every one who was once his friend. He appears to be in a perpetual state of humiliation; he can enter into no satisfaction express'd by the company in which he appears; he can enjoy no amusement and must feel a conscious inferiority to every one with whom he associates. Yet if he can be recovered at all it must be by softening measures. And those persons who wonder why people keep company with him, and wish rather to insult him in his distress, are in my opinion to be esteemed but little better than himself. The disposition in human nature to sink a man that has fallen still lower than he is would afford one of the richest themes for a misanthropist.

2d. I dined with — at Mr. Thaxter's. My brothers both dined at Mr. White's. In the afternoon we rode again in sleighs upon the river as far as we went yesterday. We had a number of songs, somewhat in the collegiate stile; but, in order to be exemplary, return'd home quite early in the evening. Mr. Thaxter lives very agreeably, and has retracted his theory with respect to matrimony; and indeed, I believe, our sex are not less prone than the other to profess a system which in fact we wholly disbelieve. Mrs. Shaw shew me a letter which she has been writing to —; and I am in hopes it may have a good effect upon him. If he has any sensibility, or any principles remaining he must be affected by it. I had with Mr. Shaw some conversation upon the subject of the disorders which happened at Collego in the course of the last quarter. His fears for my brothers are greater than mine. I am persuaded that Charles did not deserve the suspicions which were raised against him; and I have great hopes that his future conduct will convince the governors of the University that he was innocent.

3d. I attended meeting twice this day. Mr. Shaw as usual had company in the evening. I conversed with Madam. Charles and Tom went out in the evening.

4th. This morning between seven and eight o'clock my brothers set out to return to Braintree and from thence to Cambridge, as the vacation closes next Wednesday. In the forenoon I went down to see Leonard White, who was not at home. I met him however in the street with Mr. M'Hard, to whose house we went and sat an hour. I dined at Mr. Shaw's, and at about four was on my horse. I got home by dark, though the roads were much worse than when we went to Haverhill. I found my old lady had some company, but they soon went away. I pass'd all the evening at home quite in low spirits, as indeed I have been for a week or ten days past. Not even dissipation has been able to support me. My nerves have got into a disagreeable trim, and I

fear I shall be obliged to pay still less attention to books than I have of late; and, if that be the case, I am sure I must be very ignorant when I leave the title of a student. It seems very unfortunate that there should be no medium but that a man must be a fool or an invalid.

5th. The weather this day has been extreme cold. I have not experienced the severity of the season so much since the winter I pass'd in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> I pass'd the evening with Townsend and Amory at Dr. Smith's. The old man is very fond of telling long stories, and indeed it is quite necessary to attend to him. There are, however, two young ladies in the house, to whom we attend with much more pleasure. Miss Smith may be twenty years old; she is not handsome, but has a great degree of animation in her eye, and, as the want of it appears conspicuous in every other feature, the mixture of opposites has a singular effect upon her countenance. Her person is not elegant, nor is her taste in dress such as suits my mind. She has a satirical turn, and is fond of being esteemed witty. So much, I think, I can judge from the short acquaintance I have with her; perhaps at some future period I may be able to say more. Miss Putnam I will mention the next time I fall in company with her. We play'd at whist about a couple of hours; after which we sung or attempted to sing; for, of all the company, Amory was the only one that could sing so as to give any kind of entertainment.

6th. The weather has moderated very considerably. In the evening I walked with Thompson and Putnam to Little's, where we past the evening till nine o'clock, quite agreeably, without ceremony or restraint.

7th. This day, at about noon, the news arrived in this town that the Federal Constitution was yesterday adopted and ratified by a majority of nineteen members in our State Convention. In this town the satisfaction is almost universal; for my own part, I have not been pleased with this system, and my acquaintance have long-since branded me with the name of an *antifederalist*. But I am now converted, though not convinced. My feelings upon the occasion have not been passionate nor violent; and, as upon the decision of this question I find myself on the weaker side, I think it my duty to submit without murmuring against what is not to be helped. In our government, opposition to the acts of a majority of the people is rebellion to all intents and purposes; and I should view a man who would now endeavour to

<sup>1</sup> On his return from Russia to Holland at the close of 1782. Travelling alone, being then fifteen years of age, he reached Stockholm on the 23d of November. There spent five very pleasant weeks, and, on the last day of the year, set out for Copenhagen; but it took him six weeks to get there. It was the 20th of April before he rejoined his father at the Hague, six months, lacking ten days, from the date of his leaving St. Petersburg.

excite commotions against this plan, as no better than an insurgent who took arms last winter against the Courts of Justice. This afternoon I went, in company with a number of young ladies and gentlemen of this town, upon a sleighing party. We rode about eight miles into Newbury, and by dark return'd to Sawyer's tavern. After drinking tea we went to dancing, and, excepting supper, continued so till about midnight. I danced with Miss Coats and Miss Smith, both of whom were very agreeable partners. At twelve we broke up, and return'd home. Thompson came and lodg'd with me. Mr. S. Cutler<sup>1</sup> came and sat about half an hour with me; he was exceedingly mortified at having overset his sleigh. Some of the ladies were affronted, and some affrighted; so that, in returning, he had somewhat of an uncomfortable time, sweating between two fires. In the company was an Irish gentleman by the name of Hutchinson, a man of genuine wit and humour, and a person of much reading and information. He has a vessel here loading, and expects to sail for Ireland in a week or ten days.

8th. This afternoon the delegates from Newbury and from this town returned home from Convention. A number of very respectable citizens, and a number who were not very respectable, went out on horse-back to meet the members and escort them into town; as they came along the bells at the different churches were set to ringing, and this noisy expression of joy was continued with some intermissions till eight o'clock in the evening. The mob huzza'd, and one would have thought that every man from the adoption of the Constitution had acquired a sure expectancy of an independent fortune. I pass'd the evening at home in reading and writing.

9th. Mr. Parsons gave me this morning a packet of letters which I have been expecting these five weeks. There was, however, but one short letter from Europe. In the afternoon Amory went for Salem. I took a ride with Townsend, S. Cutler, J. Greenleaf,<sup>2</sup> Prout,<sup>3</sup> Thompson, and three or four ladies in a sleigh. We rode out as far as Mr. Dalton's farm; and, after taking something of a circuitous rout, return'd and took tea at Sawyer's. After passing an hour we all return'd to

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Cutler, born in Boston October 5, 1752; married, January 8, 1794, Lydia Prout (born March 8, 1769); both were drowned, January 28, 1832, by the capsizing of the schooner *Rob Roy* between Portland and Newburyport; a merchant; in later life president of an insurance company; also vestryman and warden of St. Paul's Church. N. S. Cutler, *Cutler Memorial*, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably John Greenleaf, son of Judge Benjamin Greenleaf; born July 8, 1760; married, November 2, 1791, Elizabeth Coates; resided in Newburyport and in Topsham, Me.; served in the War of 1812; died about 1830. J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, pp. 176, 427.

<sup>3</sup> William Welsted Prout (1761-1809) in 1794 had a store on High Street; later cashier of the Newburyport Bank; married Sally Jenkins; left no children. His portrait, as a young man, is in the rooms of the Newburyport Historical Society.

town. I spent the evening at Mrs. Hooper's. It was the first time I had been there since her misfortune. She bears it well, though frequent sighs rise deep from her breast. Mr. L. Jenkins<sup>1</sup> was there, a good, honest, simple soul, without the least kind of harm in him. Miss Lucy Knight was there too. She has a very amiable countenance, a fine form and a benevolent disposition. Townsend says she has no sensibility, and I think her countenance wants some of that expression which communicates the charm of sympathy to our souls. She may be possessed of many virtues, and if so will attract my esteem and respect; but she is incapable of loving, and therefore could never be an object of love to me. A young fellow by the name of Rogers for a year and an half paid the closest attention to her; and when it was daily expected that they would be published he suddenly left her, and neglected her entirely. She wrote him a letter containing a dismissal, and appears not to have had a disagreeable sensation upon the subject ever since. A disposition like this certainly smooths the path of life; but at the same time it certainly serves to make it narrow and contracted.

10th. I went with Townsend in the forenoon to hear Parson Tucker; he gave us an excellent discourse upon Ecclesiastes VII. 17. Be not over much wicked, neither be thou foolish: why shouldest thou die before thy time? Without alluding to the late circumstance of Hooper's death, it appeared plainly that the sermon was dictated by that occasion; and it was very well adapted. He particularly exhorted his hearers to avoid scenes of debauchery, of lewdness and intemperance, and, with his usual liberality and ability, recommended the opposite virtues. I did not attend meeting in the afternoon; but wrote a little and read a great deal, as very frequently happens with me. Townsend past the evening and supp'd with me. I have done keeping late hours. I find they are wholly incompatible with my health. I have of late several times, after setting up at writing till one or two o'clock in the morning, been utterly incapable of getting any sleep the whole night. My nerves have got into an unhappy tone, and I am obliged to desist from continued application. My spirits for some time have been low, and I have felt an incapacity of enjoyment; but that is now wearing off, and I am in hopes that, before long, I shall again be able to resume at least as much diligence as I have been used to.

11th. We have had this day very little studying in the office. Mr. Parsons is so fond of telling of all the manœuvres which they used in

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Jenkins married Rebecca Hooper, daughter of Robert Hooper, of Marblehead; a wool-dealer living on State Street; died 1799. Mrs. Tristram Dalton was a sister, and Stephen Hooper a brother, of Mrs. Jenkins. S. A. Emery, *Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian*, p. 236; *Historical Collections of Essex Institute*, vol. xxv. p. 4.



and out of Convention, that he has given the same story to every body that came into the office through the course of the day.<sup>1</sup> He mentions with great complaisance the formidable opposition that was made, as it naturally enhances the merit of the victory. He speaks with pleasure of every little trifling intrigue which served to baffle the intentions of the *antifederalists*; though many of them to me exhibit a meanness which I scarcely should expect a man would boast. Mr. Parsons makes of the science of politics, the science of little, insignificant intrigue and chicanery. These principles may possibly meet with success sometimes; but it is my opinion that fair, open and candid proceedings add an influence as well as a lustre to the most brilliant capacity. I called just before dark to see Mr. Hutchinson, but he was not at his lodgings. I then went home, took my flute, and went to see Putnam, with whom I play'd a number of tunes. Frank Bradbury was there. Between nine and ten we both came away. I got home with some difficulty, as the walking in the streets is excessively slippery.

12th. In the beginning of the evening I called upon Mr. Hutchinson, and look'd over his music. He plays on the flute, and has a good collection of musical books. I found Townsend and Amory there. Between seven and eight I went to Mr. Bradbury's, where I found a number of the young gentlemen and ladies dancing. I took a share in the diversion, which we continued till midnight, when I return'd home. I danced with Miss Nancy Jenkins, a very pretty girl, about seventeen, not entirely free from affectation.

13th. This afternoon I had something of a long conversation upon the subject of the ball, which is intended to be on Thursday. He had determined not to go; but upon consideration of several circumstances which I mentioned to him, he came to an alteration in his sentiments. He was something piqued at not having an invitation to join our party last week; but when I informed him of the reason for which he was neglected he was satisfied with its validity. He and Thompson pass'd the evening with me. Little ought to have been of the party; but Miss Cazneau had engaged him to go with her to Captain Fletcher's.

14th. I attended at the office only in the forenoon; the after part of the day being employ'd in rigging for the ball. I had sent a billet to Miss H. Greenleaf<sup>2</sup> requesting the honor of waiting upon her. She was not engaged and I was taken at my word, which will teach me to be sincere. It was late before I could get a carriage, and, when I went for my lady, I found all the rest of the family were gone, which was against me again. The ball rooms were too small,—not one quarter of the ladies could dance at a time. I danced enough myself, and made out to affront three or four ladies; which is much in my favour.

<sup>1</sup> See W. V. Wells, *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. iii. pp. 257-262.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 98.

Townsend took cold in making the preparations for this ball, and was so unwell that at about eleven o'clock he went home, and consigned his lady, Miss L. Knight, to me. She being very agreeable was, upon the whole, I believe, more the object of my attentions than another lady. This cannot now be helped, and whatever is, is right. Between three and four in the morning the remainder of the company retired. Putnam lodged with me. The party was perfectly agreeable.

15th. We indulged ourselves this morning till almost twelve o'clock before we rose. I called at the office, and pass'd about half an hour there. I felt rather dissipated, and somewhat indisposed for study. In the afternoon, when I called at the office I found Mr. Wendell there, — a singular eccentric character with whom I was acquainted while I was in College, and whom I have probably mentioned before now. He still persists in his singularities, and in walking from Boston the day before yesterday froze one of his feet. Townsend is quite unwell; has an uncomfortable cough and sore throat. But he went with me to visit several of the ladies who were of the company last evening. We first called at Captain Coombs's,<sup>1</sup> where we only found Miss Nancy Jenkins. She holds her head too stiff for elegance and has read too many novels, which render her manners rather fantastical and affected. We stopped a few moments to see Miss Coats, who was well, and we then went to Judge Greenleaf's, where we drank tea. Here were young ladies, I had almost said, innumerable; a choice of every complexion, and probably of every disposition. Among them all Miss Derby has the most promising appearance; but she in company is

<sup>1</sup> Philip Coombs, father of William, came to Newbury from the island of Guernsey, was converted under Whitefield, and was one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church. He was taken as a prisoner of war to France, where he died in 1759. William Coombs, mentioned in the diary as Captain Coombs, was born in Newburyport in 1736, where he died May 28, 1814. He was actively engaged in maritime life till he was forty years of age, when he devoted himself to merchandise. Coombs Wharf is named for him. He owned numerous vessels. His last voyage was just before the Revolutionary War, in order to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition for the impending contest; an undertaking in which his success exceeded his expectations, and he generously turned over to the authorities without compensation the results of his venture. Captain Coombs was an ardent patriot, and did good service as a member of the Committees of Safety and Correspondence, which held the power of government till regular authority was restored. He was a Representative in the Legislature, President of the Marine Society, President of the Merrimac Bible Society, trustee of the Dummer Academy, Chairman of the School Committee, superintendent of the erection of the Essex-Merrimac Bridge, and of the Plum Island Light-house, and Vice-President of the Humane Society, which gave him a gold medal for saving a life when he was seventy-six years of age. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church, and was noted for his piety, urbanity and generosity. His funeral sermon, by Rev. Daniel Dana, D.D., was published. Manuscript notes of Rev. Horace C. Hovey, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Newburyport, Mass.

reserved. The Judge talk'd about religion and politics, and Mrs. Greenleaf pass'd encomiums upon the British Constitution; but the young ladies were all silent.<sup>1</sup> We took our departure quite early, and I pass'd the remainder of the evening at Mrs. Hooper's where I found Miss Knight and Mr. Cutler. Learnt to play quadrille.

16th. The most violent snow storm that has appeared in the course of the winter; it began in the night, and continued all this day. In the evening it cleared up. Townsend was not out. Amory and I dined with Mr. Parsons. Captain Hodge<sup>2</sup> likewise was of the company. I wrote a letter in the afternoon, or rather part of a letter, to W. Cranch. From the office we went and pass'd an hour with Mrs. Jackson, where we found Mr. Wendell, feasting upon his apples and nuts. He slept last night in Mr. J. Tracey's green house, which is entirely unprotected from the inclemency of the season; and, the better to enjoy the benefits of the open air, he stripp'd himself entirely naked. He converses in the same style that he did a year ago; and appears to me too consistent for a distracted person, as many suppose him to be. We spent the remainder of the evening at Dr. Smith's. I made an apology to Miss Smith for a blunder which took place at the ball. She appeared plainly to be offended, but was satisfied after I had made my explanation. I know not whether to like or to dislike this girl, but perhaps time will supply me with the means of information. At supper Amory was excessively diverted with the appearance of a Bologna sausage, which the Doctor introduced, and which Mr. Cutler observed would be ripe in June. After supper I got seated next to Miss Putnam, and entered into conversation with her. I found her

<sup>1</sup> Judge Benjamin Greenleaf married, January 22, 1784, as a second wife, a widow, Mrs. Derby, who survived him many years. The daughters were Sarah (born June 21, 1763; died in old age unmarried), Mary (born November 1, 1765, died unmarried), Hannah (born November 1, 1765; married, September 22, 1807, Robert Boyd, of Portland, Me.), Jane (born July 23, 1768; married April 12, 1802, Ralph Cross, of Portland). J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, pp. 426-428.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Michael Hodge, a sea-captain previous to the War of Independence; one of the founders of the Marine Society of Newburyport in 1772, its secretary for twenty-six years and its president for six; appointed in 1776 naval officer of Newburyport, and probably held office until 1789; appointed in 1789 surveyor of the naval district which included Newburyport, Salisbury, Amesbury and Haverhill; held this office until his death, June 24, 1816. A member of the First Parish Church, he read the Declaration of Independence from the window of its meeting-house to the people gathered in Market Square below; was active in fortifying the mouth of the Merrimac River, in 1775 one of six captains of guns for the protection of the port; 1778 first lieutenant of the Newburyport (independent) Artillery Company; on the staff of General Jonathan Glover, of Marblehead, in the expedition to Rhode Island in 1778; town clerk 1780-1789; selectman 1783-1785; died June 24, 1816, aged seventy-three. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1760-1768; Two Hundred and Fiftieth Celebration of the Town, p. 98.

inclined to flattery, a defect not uncommon among our young ladies; and I answered her in her own way, as I always do. When a lady pays me a compliment I always consider myself indebted to her untill I return one at least of equal value; and I am generally so good a creditor that I pay with large interest. I have even once or twice in my life so far surpassed a lady in that way as to silence her, and make her ashamed of attacking me with those weapons; but I never flatter a lady that I esteem.

17th. Parson Carey is very sick; and consequently we had no meeting. So I staid at home; wrote a long letter to my friend Fiske,<sup>1</sup> and a page or two some ways back in this book. In the evening I went to Mrs. Hooper's to see Townsend, whom I found very hoarse, and with a bad cough. I pass'd the evening there, as likewise did Mr. S. Cutler. Within these two years Townsend has lost two brothers and a sister by consumptions, and it is much to be feared that he himself will be subject to the same misfortune. I am in hopes, however, that by their fate he will be warn'd to take such care of himself as will preserve his life and lengthen his days; for I feel a great degree of friendship for him.<sup>2</sup>

18th. After passing the day at the office, I went and pass'd the

<sup>1</sup> "Oliver Fiske of Brookfield will be twenty-five the 2d of Sept. next. Solidity of judgment, independence of spirit, and candour of disposition are the chief characteristics of this gentleman. As a scholar he stands on the first line in the class, and his honour is unblemished. His circumstances are not fortunate, and he has been often absent from College. He was with General Lincoln in Berkshire the greater part of the last winter, and wishes to follow a military life after leaving the University. He would make, I believe, a very good officer, and whatever his profession may be, he will be certainly an excellent man." J. Q. Adams, March 25, 1787. Dr. Oliver Fiske (H. C. 1787), son of Rev. Nathan Fiske, D. D. (H. C. 1754), pastor of the church in Brookfield (1758-1799); born September 2, 1762; volunteered for service in the war, in 1780, and was stationed near West Point at the time of the treason of Benedict Arnold; returned to Brookfield and assisted his father on his farm until 1783; at the time of Shays's Rebellion, active in the Marti-Mercurian Band of University students; in the winter vacation of 1786-1787 engaged to teach school at Lincoln, but when the insurgents interfered with the courts at Worcester hired a substitute and joined General Lincoln's army; studied medicine under Dr. Atherton, of Lancaster; began practice at Worcester October, 1790; active in forming the Worcester Medical Society, and was chosen its secretary. A petition to the Legislature for incorporation led to a reorganization of the Massachusetts Medical Society and the creation of district associations; September 26, 1804, the Worcester District Society was organized; 1806 Dr. Fiske chosen President; February, 1803, appointed Special Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; 1809-1814 member of the Executive Council; 1816-1821 Registrar of Deeds; interested in agriculture, planting a nursery of fruit and ornamental trees; Secretary of the Worcester Agricultural Society; 1815 Corresponding Secretary of the Linnæan Society of New England; Councillor of the American Antiquarian Society; died in Boston January 25, 1837. F. C. Pierce, *Fiske and Fisk Family* (1896), pp. 372, 373, 495.

<sup>2</sup> Townsend died in 1826, aged sixty-three.

evening at Mrs. Hooper's. Townsend's cough hangs upon him, but he is getting better. We play'd quadrille till supper time. Miss Knight is still there; she is very handsome and very amiable, yet not very interesting.

19th. Called upon Putnam after leaving the office, and passed the evening at his lodgings. I have a greater regard for this young fellow than I had when at College. He is friendly and good-natured, and pursues his studies with diligence and attention. Perhaps indeed that now the warmth of emulation has subsided, and we can in no instance be rivals, neither he nor I view each other in the same light that we did nine months ago.

20th. Mr. Parsons went yesterday to Boston, to attend the Supreme Judicial Court. This evening I past with Thompson at Mrs. Emery's. Miss Smith and Miss Putnam were there. We play'd cards about an hour; after which Miss Emery play'd us a number of tunes very agreeably upon the harpsichord. I had another match with Miss Putnam at complimenting, and succeeded tolerably well.

21st. Mrs. Emery and her daughter were going to Exeter this morning in a single sleigh. Dr. Kilham and I, after greatly debating the question, had likewise determined to go: so we agreed to divide. The Doctor went with Mrs. Emery, and I with the young lady. It was just eleven o'clock when we started; and the roads were so difficult that we did not get to Exeter till three, nor the other sleigh till five. After sitting down my companion I went and dined; and then immediately proceeded to the meeting-house where the State Convention for the State of New Hampshire were debating upon the subject of the Federal Constitution. I found Mr. Pickering,<sup>1</sup> a member from Portsmouth, zealously, though I cannot add very forcibly, arguing for the good cause. Several other members spoke; but none of them, in my opinion, much to the purpose. They have gone through the system by paragraphs; and are now considering it generally. I found Mr. Shaw, Mr. Thaxter, and a number more of our Haverhill friends there, and pass'd the evening with them at Mr. Peabody's, a friend of the Doctor's, where we lodg'd; for there was not a bed to be had at any of the public houses. We were disappointed of an assembly this evening as we expected; and the debates, I really think, were not worth the ride in a cold day; but the satisfaction of riding with an amiable girl, and the novelty of the town, which I never saw before, will in some measure compensate for the failure of my expectations.

<sup>1</sup> John Pickering (H. C. 1761), born in Newington September 22, 1737; studied theology and law; Attorney-General of New Hampshire 1786; member of the State Convention 1791-1792; repeatedly a member of the Legislature; President of the Senate in 1789; 1790 appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire; later District Judge of the United States; died April, 1805. *New Hampshire Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x. p. 30.

22d. I attended to hear the debates in Convention again this forenoon. Mr. Langdon<sup>1</sup> began by making a motion that the Convention should adjourn to some future day, but said he would waive his motion if any gentleman had further observations to make upon the system. Mr. Atherton,<sup>2</sup> the leader of the opposition rose, and in a speech of more than an hour recapitulated every objection that he could invent against the Constitution. He observed that *confederation* was derived from the Latin word *foedus*; and that *consolidation* was a metaphorical expression borrowed from the operations of chemistry. These were two of his most ingenious ideas; and, upon the whole, I think, he may candidly be pronounced a miserable speaker, and a worse reasoner. A reverend Parson Thirston<sup>3</sup> spoke as long, and as little to the purpose, on the other side. He talk'd of France's demanding her money with the dagger in her hand; and of Britain's sending 50 sail of the line and 60,000 men to take New Hampshire; but did not even attempt to support the plan upon the fair and honourable basis of rational argumentation. When these two gentlemen had exhausted the resources of their lungs, the motion for an adjournment was again brought upon the carpet. This was the offspring of the fears of the Federal party; and was faintly opposed by the other faction, who appeared to be equally fearful of the event, though more confident in their numbers. The vote for adjournment, however, was carried by a trifling majority. The time and place at which they should meet again was a subject of some conversation; but finally the third Wednesday in June, and Concord were agreed upon. We dined at Mr. Peabody's. Dr. Kilham was troubled with the impertinence of one Hopkinson, a distracted fellow, who came and pretended to call him to an account for coming and intermeddling with concerns in which he was not interested. A little after three we got into the sleigh, and be-

<sup>1</sup> John Langdon (1740-1819), leader of the Federal forces in the Convention; one of the most noted men of New Hampshire, having served as delegate to the Continental Congress, as Speaker in the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, as a Judge, as a member of the State Senate, and as "president" of the State. Later was the first President *pro tem.* of the United States Senate and Governor of New Hampshire. See J. B. Walker, *Hist. of the New Hampshire Convention*, pp. 7, 29; also letter from John Langdon to Rufus King, dated February 23, 1788, in Bancroft, *Hist. of the Constitution*, vol. ii. pp. 461, 462. Some members, convinced that ratification was wise but unwilling to vote contrary to their instructions, asked an adjournment.

<sup>2</sup> Joshua Atherton (H. C. 1762), born in Harvard, Mass., in 1737; a lawyer at Amherst in 1772; was imprisoned in Amherst jail for favoring the Loyalists, but later regained the confidence of the community. In 1793 was a State Senator, and later Attorney-General of New Hampshire; died April 3, 1809. *New Hampshire Prov. and State Papers*, vol. x. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Benjamin Thurston (H. C. 1774); ordained at North Hampton, N. H., November 2, 1785; dismissed October 27, 1800; died 1806, near Raleigh, N. C. J. B. Walker, *Hist. of the New Hampshire Convention*, p. 9.

tween six and seven cross'd the river from Salisbury. I immediately went to Thompson's. I found Little there, and Putnam came in soon after. We pass'd the evening in sociable chat till nine, when I returned home.

23d. When I went to the office this morning I found young Pickman<sup>1</sup> of Salem there. I was acquainted with him somewhat in Europe, and I believe he is mentioned in the first volume of this repository (repository!) He has been studying more than two years in Mr. Pyncheon's<sup>2</sup> office, and proposes now to pass five or six months in Mr. Parsons's. And I shall be very happy in this additional companion, as Townsend and Amory are both soon to leave the town. I pass'd the evening at home, and my friend Little spent it with me. Wrote nothing, though it was very necessary.

24th. Mr. Carey is still very sick, and we had no divine service this day at his meeting. I again pass'd the whole day at home. I was tired in the evening and took a walk as far as Deacon Thompson's; and desired Tom to come and pass an hour with me, which he did. I called at Putnam's but he was not at home. I wrote diligently in the course of the day, and acquired some little credit.

25th. Pass'd the evening at Merrill's with Mr. Hutchinson, and had some very agreeable musical entertainment. Mr. H. is a performer upon the flute, and has a good collection of books. He has been waiting a fortnight or three weeks for favorable winds to sail for Ireland. Captain Casneau and Captain Casey were there part of the evening.

26th. This forenoon, while I was at the office, I received a billet from Mr. Dalton, with an invitation to spend the evening at his house. Between six and seven I went, and was introduced into a room full of ladies, with no other gentleman but the master of the house. The situation was not perfectly agreeable; but I was relieved by a proposal of cards. I sat down to a game of whist with Mrs. Jones, a lady from Boston, Mrs. Marquand<sup>3</sup> and Fanny Jenkins, who soon after resigned

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Pickman (H. C. 1784), son of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, a successful merchant of Salem; born September 30, 1763, in Salem; educated at Dummer Academy under "Master Moody"; did not practise law, but engaged in commerce; was a Representative and a Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature; a member of the Governor's Council, 1805; of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and of Congress, 1809-1811; an Overseer at Harvard, 1810-1818, and president of many historical and literary societies in Salem; died August 16, 1843. He married, October 20, 1789, Anastas Derby, daughter of Elias H. Derby, the most eminent merchant in Salem. Hurd, 248 b.

<sup>2</sup> William Pyncheon (H. C. 1743), born in Springfield, Mass., December 12, 1723; studied law with Stephen Sewall, of Salem; died in Salem March 14, 1789. W. T. Davis, *Hist. of the Judiciary of Massachusetts*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the wife of Joseph Marquand, one of the most prominent merchants in Newburyport. He fitted out privateers during the war and took several prizes, with one of them, it is said, the library of the Governor-General of Can-

her sent to *Miss Dalton*, emphatically so called even by her parents, which is rather unusual, but a custom which is claiming introduction. Major Greenleaf and Mr. Hooper<sup>1</sup> came in before supper, which was at about ten o'clock, and which was formal, ceremonious, and consequently elegant. The company gradually retired after supper, and between eleven and twelve Mr. Hooper gave me a place in his sleigh and I came home. The narrative is about as uninteresting as the scene. I found myself in the midst of a large company of ladies, with none of whom I had an acquaintance sufficient to warrant an agreeable familiarity. I soon got seated at a card table, with ladies whom I did not sufficiently admire. Mrs. Jones is young, uncommonly handsome; and, having received her education in Europe, is the arbiter of taste and propriety in the complicated science of female fashions. To be insensible to all these advantages would have the appearance of stupidity or of ingratitude; and Mrs. Jones takes every opportunity to show how free she is from such *vices*. Soon after we sat down she complained that her gloves pinched her arm excessively; and with some difficulty pulling one of them off she exhibited an arm, the beautiful contour and snowy whiteness of which might fire the imagination of a sensual voluptuary, but which I unfortunately did not think of admiring till it was too late. On the fore-finger of the hand sparkled a costly diamond, which demanded its share of observation; and perhaps in the mind of a polite spectator might revive a question often debated, upon the mutual pretensions of nature and of art to the superiority of beauty. Mrs. Marquand equally professes to dictate the laws of fashion, but could not stand her ground against the irresistible power of the other lady, who could silence her in a moment by the resources which she drew from her English education. Miss Jenkins, she observed, looked very much like Mrs. Siddons; and if there is in fact not the most distant likeness, yet the remark might convince us that Mrs. Jones had seen that justly celebrated actress. The only particular in which she varies from the manners of the English ladies is in her ardent affection for her husband. He left her here yesterday, being called by his business to Boston, but is expected here again to-morrow. Yet though this absence is so short, yet she could not hear his name mentioned without fetching a deep sigh. She anxiously enquired for an opportunity to send a letter to him; and when somebody imprudently suggested that perhaps Mr. Jones would not return till Thurs-

*ada en route for England; lived in a fine house at the head of Marquand's wharf; collector of the port of Newburyport, 1811-1820; died September 6, 1820, aged seventy-two. J. J. Currier, "Old Newbury," pp. 162, 608, 710; Hurd, Hist. of Essex County, pp. 1748, 1750; S. A. Emery, Reminiscences, etc., pp. 232, 234.*

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Hooper (H. C. 1761), brother of Mrs. Dalton; son of Robert Hooper, a wealthy merchant of Marblehead, born July 14, 1741; died January, 1802, in Newbury. He was elected as a Federalist to the Massachusetts Senate in 1815 and 1816.



day, she held her handkerchief to her eyes to conceal the involuntary tear which was undoubtedly excited by the distressing idea. A number of other circumstances, similar to those related, concurred to form the opinion which I entertain of Mrs. Jones's character, and these anecdotes may exhibit it perhaps better than the most laboured description that I could write. This lady has taken so much of my time and of my volume that I must really wait for other opportunities to speak of the other ladies, who were Judge Greenleaf's daughters, Miss Prince and Miss Derby, Mrs. Coffin, and Miss S. Jenkins, besides Mr. Dalton's own daughters,<sup>1</sup> who tell up well.

27th. Mr. Hutchinson sailed yesterday for Ireland. The weather for several days past has been quite moderate; but this afternoon blew up very cold again. I pass'd the evening with Townsend and Pickman at Dr. Sawyer's.<sup>2</sup> Play'd quadrill with Mrs. Sawyer and Mrs. Hay. The family is very agreeable.

28th. The severity of the weather has been increasing, and is this night but little inferior to the greatest extremities of the winter. Our social club met this evening at Little's. The walk was rather long and bleak; but our enjoyment was sufficient to compensate for that. Notwithstanding Mrs. Jones's opinion, I confess I do not dislike clubs. I think they may be sociable and friendly without being slavish.

29th. A number of us spent the evening at Dr. Swett's. I play'd on the flute an hour or so. I have heretofore mentioned Mrs. Swett. The Doctor perhaps may come under the denomination of a reformed rake. In his youth he was wild, but he has become quite a useful man. Such instances are rare!

Saturday, March 1st, 1788.

The weather is very severe. The month comes in like a lion, and according to the farmer's proverb it must go out like a lamb. I passed my evening in contemplation and in writing at home, and have very little to say for this day.

<sup>1</sup> Ruth Hooper Dalton, born May 17, 1767, married, July 21, 1789, Louis Deblois; Mary, born March 4, 1771, married Leonard White, of Haverhill, August 21, 1794; Sarah, born February 19, 1775, died unmarried in Washington, D. C.; Catherine, born April 13, 1777, died in Alexandria, Va., unmarried. G. T. Little, *The Descendants of George Little*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Micajah Sawyer (H. C. 1766), son of a physician in Newbury, brother-in-law of Rev. Ezra Weld, of Braintree; born July, 1787; married Sibyl, daughter of Daniel Farnham, the Loyalist; member of the Committee of Safety appointed in 1774; treasurer of Dummer Academy 1784-1809; member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Massachusetts Medical Society; died September 29, 1815. Mrs. Sawyer died July 8, 1842, aged ninety-five. Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 72-74; Appleton, *Some Descendants of William Sawyer*.

2d. We had no meeting at Parson Carey's. I was employ'd in writing all the forenoon; but after dinner went to hear Mr. Spring. The speculative sentiments of this gentleman upon religion are not such as I should admire. They may, I think, safely be called illiberal; though I am sensible such charges are not in general very liberal. He has adopted all the fancies of the *Hopkintonian*<sup>1</sup> sect, as they are called. These people, while they profess to found their system entirely upon *disinterested benevolence*, by what appears to me a strange inconsistency suppose that it may be agreeable to the general plan of the supreme being to condemn to eternal torments all the human race, except such as have experienced the effect of saving grace. The point upon which Mr. Spring continually harps is, that holiness consists in a total exemption from all selfish ideas, and that all sin originates in selfishness. I suppose he has not preach'd a sermon these ten years without introducing these favorite sentiments. His repetitions are so frequent that they become very tiresome to one whom they cannot convince. But his delivery is very agreeable; there is an earnestness and a solemnity in his manner which I wish I could find in preachers whose doctrines are more conformable to my ideas of truth.

3d. The weather continues extreme cold. The river is fast as low as this town, and many persons have this day cross'd it upon the ice. Townsend set out to go with me this evening to Mrs. Emery's; but would not go in when he found there was company there. It was Judge Greenleaf's family. We play'd at cards and back-gammon as usual; and between ten and eleven I came home. Miss Prince is not handsome, but sociable. She is generally called sensible and very agreeable; but I have imbibed an unaccountable prejudice unfavourable to her from the appearance of her person and manners. Perhaps I ought not to commit such a weakness to writing; but indeed it is a weakness from which, I believe, very few persons can boast of being free. Miss Derby is handsome, but her beauty is stern and forbidding. She is reserved and unsociable; her manners are not wholly exempt from the appearance of pride. But the effects of this passion, and of modest diffidence, so different from it, are similar in appearance, and when the causes of conduct may be various the most favourable construction is always the best. The Miss Greenleafs —

4th. Doctor Kilham<sup>2</sup> went to Boston this day to attend the General

<sup>1</sup> This is an obvious slip of the pen for "Hopkinsian," the name given to the followers of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, pastor at Newport, R. I. (1770-1803).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kilham failed of re-election; the following year, 1789, an unsuccessful movement was again made in his favor. Its first stages are described in a letter dated February 28, 1789, from James Bridge, then a law student with Theophilus Parsons, to J. Q. Adams, who was recuperating his health at Quincy. "The attention of the wise heads begins to be turned pretty strongly towards the approaching elections. The Hancockonians are bestirring themselves to get

Court. His opposition to the Federal Constitution has made him so unpopular in this town that I do not expect he will be chosen as Representative at the next election; and he may, I think, with this session take his leave of the legislative body for the present. I pass'd the evening with Townsend and Thompson at Mrs. Atkins's. The Justice was not at home. Between seven and eight o'clock, we were alarm'd by the cry of fire; but it was extinguished before we got to the house. While the Doctor is absent, I shall read more than I can when he is here. The intervals between the hours which I pass at the office I usually spend in conversation with him; when he is gone I devote them to reading. I have taken up the second volume of Gibbon, which I have for a long time laid aside; and I am determined to try again to get through this book. I have possessed it several years, and have been all the time just about to read it; but it has been like the hinge of Tristram Shandy's door—never done, because it could be done at any time.

5th. I pass'd the evening with Thompson and Putnam at Mr. Bradbury's. Frank came from Boston this morning, and bro't an account of the interment of his Honor Thomas Cushing, Esqr., who died last week. He has been lieutenant governor of this Commonwealth ever since the establishment of the Constitution; and it is probable there will be a vast deal of electioneering intrigue for the diverse candidates for the place. The paper also contains an extract from the concluding letter of the third volume in defence of the American Constitutions, which speaks very favourably of the system proposed by the Federal Convention.<sup>1</sup> I did not expect it, and am glad to find I was mistaken, since it appears probable the plan will be adopted. We play'd cards an hour or two and then amused ourselves with music. There

their idol continued in the chair and Mr. S. Adams into Gen. Lincoln's office. They intend also to change their present representation intirely. Instead of Master Parsons, Coombs and Marsh, your friend Doc. Kilham and Capt. Fletcher are held up for election. Mr. Jackson, if he is not chosen a senator, is to be made the third. This intelligence is trumpeted forth in the streets and market places by Stickney, Sweeny the barber, and Billings Putnam. The opposite party are lying upon their oars, in expectation of our master's return. Doc. Kilham's political resurrection might have furnished you with an entertaining subject of speculation. He was first seen riding out with Marquand, next he rode out with a large party of us to Major Coffin's of New-town; soon after some of our respectable folks were seen to pull off their hats to him as he pass'd the insurance office. Col. Wigglesworth and some others got him to their houses next, and now 't would be difficult to catch him at home. He wants no further assistance, but to be puffed in the Essex Journal which you will be seasonably here to execute, if so inclined." In 1802 President Jefferson appointed him a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in Massachusetts; in 1806, 1807, 1810 and 1811 he served on the Governor's Council, and in 1814 was a member of the State Senate. See *supra*, pp. 32, 67.

<sup>1</sup> John Adams, Works, vol. vi. pp. 219, 220.

were several *young* ladies present, Miss Harriet's<sup>1</sup> companions; a sett that are almost always together, and who have at least more personal beauty than any equal number of other unmarried ladies in this town. Miss Wigglesworth<sup>2</sup> is about seventeen. Her stature is rather diminutive; but *smallness* is said to be one of the essential requisites of *prettiness*. Her features are regular and her shape admirably proportioned. Her disposition is said to be amiable; but she talks very little. The greatest defect which I have observed in her is a frequent smile, which is certainly either unmeaning or insulting. The only method I can pursue when I catch her eye is to smile too; and by this means put her out of countenance. Thus much for the present. I will take some other opportunity to mention the other stars that form this constellation.

6th. We met in the evening at Putnam's chamber. I did not pass my time so agreeably as I usually do these evenings. Townsend and Amory were there, and, instead of devoting our hours to free and unrestrained conversation, we lost them in playing on the violin and flute. Between nine and ten we retired.

7th. The weather begins to abate of its severity; yet people cross'd the river on the ice all this day. Townsend and Pickman this afternoon went to Salem. I was at home all the evening, and Thompson spent part of it with me. He intends to quit his school in three or four weeks; and I hope I shall then enjoy more of his company.

8th. I this day got through my folio of Lord Coke, which has been hanging heavy upon me these ten weeks. It contains a vast deal of law learning, but heaped up in such an incoherent mass that I have derived very little benefit from it, — indeed I think it a very improper book to put into the hands of a student just entering upon the acquisition of the profession. I am persuaded I might have spent the time which has been employ'd in reading this book to much better advantage, and that a twelvemonth hence I could have read it in less time and with more profit. But if this be the case how much more laborious must the study have been when this was the only elementary book of the profession. The addition of Wood's Institutes, and more especially of Blackstone's Commentaries, has been an inestimable advantage to the late students in the profession. In the afternoon I read a few pages in Blackstone,<sup>3</sup> and the contrast was like descending

<sup>1</sup> Harriet Bradbury, daughter of Theophilus Bradbury; born in 1773; married Thomas W. Hooper (H. C. 1789), son of Stephen Hooper. W. B. Lapham, Bradbury Memorial, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Sarah, daughter of Colonel Edward Wigglesworth, born December 18, 1770; married Francis Michael Bequet, September 18, 1793. Colonel Wigglesworth (H. C. 1761) served as a colonel in the Continental army from 1776 to 1779, and was then a merchant at Newburyport.

<sup>3</sup> The recognition of Blackstone's merit was immediate and decisive. Coke-

from a rugged, dangerous and almost inaccessible mountain into a beautiful plain, where the unbounded prospect on every side presents the appearance of fertility. I read with more advantage than usual, as I was wholly alone in the office all day. I spent the evening in my own room uninterrupted by any intrusion. I proceed in the second volume of Gibbon, about fifty pages a day.

9th. Parson Carey got out to meeting this forenoon; but he was still so weak that the effort was too great. He was scarcely able to get through the morning exercises; and in the afternoon the church was again destitute. I went to hear Parson Spring rattle away upon disinterested benevolence, and pass'd the evening at home.

10th. Pass'd the evening and supped with Thompson at Dr. Sawyer's. Mr. Russell was there; he came from Portsmouth this morning and returns to Boston with Mrs. Hay, to-morrow. We play'd quadrill. Mr. Farnham<sup>1</sup> took an hand, and is skilled in all the trifling conversation of a card-table. Every one, it is said, possesses his peculiar excellence. Mr. Farnham's talent lies in the *science* of politeness. He understands to perfection all the nice and subtle distinctions between confidence and assurance, between ease of behaviour and familiarity, between elegance and foppery, &c., a science in which I am very ignorant, as in all others.

11th. Townsend and Pickman returned this afternoon from Salem. Townsend has been on to Boston and to Medfield; he brought me two or three letters. I passed the evening with Thompson at Captain Coombs's. Mr. Cutler came in soon after us. There are several young ladies there. The Miss Coombs's are neither of them handsome, and I have not sufficient acquaintance with them to form an accurate opinion. Fanny Jenkins is perhaps twenty one. A countenance more amiable than beautiful is her greatest personal ornament; she is not tall enough to have an elegant form, but when she smiles such a lovely disposition beams in her eyes that no one could wish her more handsome. She talks much and tolerably well, but when a young lady [h]as so excellent a temper,

"Let her speak and whatever she say,  
Methinks I should love her the more."

Her sister Nancy is about seventeen. She is tall and beautiful in countenance and in the form of a person, not less sociable but less sensible

Littleton, first published in 1028, did not reach the thirteenth edition until 1788. Blackstone in 1787, eighteen years after the publication of the last volume, had already passed through ten editions.

<sup>1</sup> Probably William Farnham, a brother-in-law of Dr. Sawyer. Alice Tucker wrote under date of Sunday, August 23, 1789, "After meeting Mr. Farnham drank tea with us—a gentleman with manners as soft as silk." Manuscript journal.

than Fanny. She has read too many novels; her expressions are romantic, and her ideas are far otherwise. Her disposition is, I believe, good; and a few years may cool her down to an agreeable sensible girl: now, it may suffice to say, she is young. But, after all, the best object of description is Mr. Cutler. He is somewhat singular, but it requires a much longer acquaintance to form a just opinion of the character of a man than of a woman: the distinguishing traits are deeper and much more numerous, for which reason and some others, I will defer speaking of Mr. Cutler to some future opportunity.

12th. I dined with Townsend at Mrs. Hooper's. Amory went to Portsmouth on Monday, with several of his friends. They return'd this day to dinner at Davenport's. We called to see them, and sat with them drinking and singing till five o'clock, when the[y] went for Ipswich. I pass'd the evening with Pickman, at Doctor Smith's. Townsend went there with us, but found himself so unwell that he went home very early. His cough has return'd, with several disagreeable symptoms. I fear exceedingly that he is not long for this world. We play'd whist an hour or two at Dr. Smith's, and between ten and eleven retired.

13th. Thompson, Pickman and Little pass'd the eve at my lodgings. Townsend was so unwell that he could not come, and Putnam went home some days since, and has not yet return'd. The office for a week past has been tolerably clear, and I have made considerable progress in Blackstone.

14th. Mr. Parsons return'd this afternoon from Boston, where the Supreme Judicial Court and the General Assembly are now sitting. I called with Pickman to see Townsend, who is now confined to the house, and pass'd an hour or two with him. And for this day I have nothing more to say.

15th. I called this evening at Putnam's lodgings, and pass'd an hour or two with him. He went home last Sunday intending to be absent about a week; but he return'd yesterday without completing his visit. I told him some time ago, that I expected he would not be absent long from this town with any satisfaction to himself. He says he is happy as the day is long. He admires Newbury-Port exceedingly, and never enjoy'd himself more than he has for the six months past. He says he is not in love, and that is not the least reason from which I conclude that he is. A young lady similar in her manners, and perhaps in her disposition to him, has engaged his affections; and the schemes which he forms to be in company with her, and the manifest fondness which appears when he is with her, more than outweigh his declarations; which, in cases less justifiable than the present, are not always consistent with truth.

16th. In the forenoon I attended at Mr. Carey's meeting. The man

that appeared in the pulpit I concluded very soon was a son of Dartmouth. All was common-place; his ideas were trifling, his language was inelegant, and his manner was an unsuccessful attempt to the florid. He apostrophised Innocence, and said she was charming. In short he appeared to me to have all the defects, without one of the excellencies of a youthful, irregular imagination. After meeting was over I heard his name was Oliver,<sup>1</sup> and that he is settled at Beverley. I had quite enough of him in hearing him once, and therefore in the afternoon I went to hear Mr. Spring, who entertained me much better, though I am not a great admirer of his doctrine.

17th. Mr. Parsons held a Court this forenoon at ten; and at the same hour I attended at Mr. Atkins's, with several actions brought before him. Mr. Parsons in the afternoon went from home to return to Boston. I pass'd the evening at Mrs. Hooper's; play'd quadrill as usual.

18th. I am sinking again into the same insipidity which I have so often lamented. The circumstances which daily occur are now more than ever alike, for I not only spend the whole day in the same occupation at the office; but as Townsend is unwell and confined to his lodgings I pass almost all my evenings with him. We have no news stirring of any kind, and as Dr. Kilham said to me a short time before he went to Boston, "I am tired to death of seeing one day only the dull duplicate of another."

19th. The weather was dull, gloomy, and part of the day rainy. Amory invited me to dine with him and Stacey and Azor Orne at Davenport's, but I did not feel inclined that way. I call'd at Mrs. Hooper's in the evening, and spent a couple of hours with Townsend. The lads who dined at Davenport's warm'd themselves so well with Madeira, that at about seven o'clock this evening, they all set out upon an expedition to Cape-Ann to attend a ball there this night. Twenty seven miles in such weather and such roads after seven o'clock at night, to attend a ball would look extravagant in a common person; but it is quite characteristic of Amory.

20th. Thursday. We met this evening at Thompson's. Pickman came, but rather late in the evening. Young Sawyer<sup>2</sup> was there likewise. He spends the present quarter at home by order of the college government. I have not a very high opinion of his abilities; still less of his improvements, and least of all of his moral character. One thing, however, may be said in his favour, — he is handsome in his per-

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Oliver (Dartmouth 1785), born in Boston April 4, 1753; pastor at Beverly 1787-1797; missionary in Roxbury and Boston; died September 14, 1840, at Roxbury. General Catalogue of Dartmouth College.

<sup>2</sup> William Sawyer (H. C. 1788), son of Dr. Micajah Sawyer; born February 1, 1771; a physician; died in Boston, April 18, 1859.

son. His father is a very respectable, worthy man, and the family to which he belongs is very agreeable.

[N. B. This opinion of Sawyer did him great injustice. April, 1790.]

21st. I can read tolerably well when I am alone in the office, and make as much progress in one day as I can sometimes in a week when all the other gentlemen are here. I have read through the first volume and made some progress in the second of Blackstone. And I read it, I think, with more advantage than I did the first time; but my progress is slow, too slow.

22d. Amory and Stacey return'd from their expedition. They got to Cape-Ann at about twelve on Wednesday night, and were about two hours at the ball. On Thursday they proceeded to Marblehead, and attended at the assembly which was held there. Last night they patrol'd the streets of Salem, serenading the houses, and came home this afternoon completely fatigued. Mr. Parsons arrived in town too this morning from Boston, and held a Court for taking cognizance of Mr. Atkins's actions. Pickman pass'd the evening with us at Mrs. Hooper's. Mr. Cutler was likewise there.

23d. Putnam had agreed to go with me, and hear Parson Tucker preach this forenoon; but some circumstance prevented him; so I went alone. The Dr. gave us a very good sermon upon the education of children. I went home with Mr. Tracey to dinner, and Pickman soon came in. We dined and pass'd the afternoon with Mr. Tracey.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Tracy (H. C. 1709), classmate of Theophilus Parsons and of James Winthrop, the librarian at Harvard; thirty-six years of age; educated at Harvard and at Yale; son of Patrick Tracy, who presented him on his marriage in 1775 to the beauty, Mary Lee, of Marblehead, with the finest house in Newburyport, the brick building on State Street now occupied by the Public Library. In August, 1775, he sent out the first privateer from Newburyport; 1775-1783 he sent to sea, as principal owner, twenty-four cruisers manned by 2,800 men that captured 120 sail and with them 2,225 prisoners of war; during the same period he sent, as principal owner, 110 merchant vessels, all but thirteen of which were lost or captured before the end of the war; during the early years of the Revolution he prospered greatly, — had fine horses and the richest of household appointments; kept a pleasure barge on Kimball's Pond for fishing-parties; "owned an admirable farm in Newbury, where he could breakfast; Ten-Hill farm at Medford, where he could dine; and his Vassall House at Cambridge, Washington's Quarters, where he might pass the night." Thomas Jefferson visited him and sailed with him on his ship "Ceres" to England in 1784. In 1786 he found himself hopelessly bankrupt, and retired to the stone mansion (already a century old) of the Spencer-Pierce farm on the Merrimac River in Newbury. Here he died September 20, 1796 (Mary Tracy selling the farm for \$12,800). See J. J. Currier, "Ould Newbury," pp. 25-41, 551-560, with a portrait of Nathaniel Tracy and views of the farm-house. See also an article by Colonel Samuel Swett (son of Dr. John Barnard Swett) in the "Newburyport Herald," November 23, 1865 (Boston Public Library, No. \*4464.56), and an article by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford in "Harper's Magazine" for July, 1875. The figures as to his mercantile and warlike ventures during the war are taken from an *ex parte* statement, — a



This gentleman was in the course of the war peculiarly fortunate and accumulated an immense fortune; but he has since been equally unluckily and is now very much reduced. The generosity of his heart is equal to any estate whatever; and although he has not been so prudent as might be wish'd, yet every one who is acquainted with him must lament his misfortunes, and heartily wish he may retrieve his affairs. We rode into town in the beginning of the evening as the weather was rainy. We stop'd at Mrs. Hooper's. We found Miss Cazneau there; and Thompson and Putnam came in soon after. The evening was dull. Miss Cazneau would sing; and murdered two or three songs. A specimen of Townsend's wit set us to laughing. Mr. Parsons set out this morning to go to Boston, but the weather being disagreeable he return'd home after proceeding three or four miles. . . .

24th. I attended at Mr. Atkins's Court; and appeared to the actions. Mr. Marquand, who had been summoned there, appeared and somewhat diverted us by his impetuosity. I met young Thomas in the street, who gave me some information from Cambridge. This being the last day of service, we have been uncommonly busy in the office in copying the writs and making out records according to the Justice's act, which is useless and even troublesome on every account. I this day finished reading Gibbon's History, which I have had a long time without perusing. It has given me much information upon a part of history with which I was but little acquainted. The style upon the whole, I think, is elegant, but his manifest partiality against the Christian religion is equally injurious to his character as a philosopher and as an historian. He affects to despise those men who from a zealous attachment to their religion have adopted the effusions of enthusiasm as readily as the pure and indisputable relations of history; while he is himself guilty of the other extreme, which in my mind is much less

petition to Congress. See E. V. Smith, Hist. of Newburyport, p. 107. Alice Tucker wrote, October 20, 1790: "Just at dusk, I took a walk to Mr. Nat. Tracy's. This antique building is situated in the very bosom of retirement, and is surrounded by well cultivated fields and gardens. You have in view a thick wood, and a pretty water prospect completes the landscape. I found Mrs. Tracy, dress'd genteelly, sitting at her tea table with her children about her. She is a very handsome accomplished woman, and knows very well how to keep up her dignity." A little over a year later she described another visit: "As soon as we got to their yard a neat looking maid came out to open the gate for us, and conducted us into the house and into the dining chamber, which is spacious and has a genteel and an airy appearance considering its antiquity. Mrs. Tracy received with that politeness which is so natural to a well bred woman. Our repast was slender; two cups of tea, and one small piece of biscuit. After tea the children came from the nursery, [torn] and with them an illegitimate orphan call'd Lucy [illegible]. . . . How fortunate are such children when they meet with relations or friends that are disposed to give them suitable educations." Manuscript journal of Alice Tucker, December 13, 1790.

excusable. Knox,<sup>1</sup> however, is, I believe, too severe when he says that this writer by a *meretricious* and *affected* style far beneath the native dignity and simplicity of the ancients has caught the transient applause of the public, — and indeed the occasion upon which he passes this judgment renders the censure very reprehensible. The reflection upon Julian's leaving Paris<sup>2</sup> was to me one of the most ingenious passages in the book; and Knox, by setting himself up as the champion of English prejudices, cannot be quoted by a neutral person as an authority of great weight.

25th. Copies of all the actions which are to be entered at the next Court of Common Pleas were this day sent to Salem to be filed in the clerk's office, seven days before the sitting of the court, as the law directs. And as we have now got through the hurry of business, we

<sup>1</sup> Vicessimus Knox, master for thirty-three years of a school at Tunbridge, England. The passage referred to reads as follows: "A writer of history, who, by an affected and meretricious style, unlike the manliness of the classical model, has caught the transient applause of fashion, and who seems to be ambitious of acquiring distinction by recommending infidelity and libertinism on principle, speaks, consistently with himself, thus highly of FRENCH MANNERS; those effeminate manners which, in the honest warmth of an Englishman, I have been led, in this section, and on all occasions to reprobate: . . . I cannot think it consistent with a good citizen and a lover of one's country to admire and extol the martial spirit of that nation, which has so often been most hostile to all we hold dear, and behaved with such perfidy as would stigmatize an individual in private life with perpetual disgrace.

"As a superintendent of education, I think myself bound thus publicly to disapprove, on every proper occasion, all works which tend to insinuate corrupt and infidel principles into the bosoms of ingenuous youth. All may err from passion, and be pardoned; but to defend and even recommend, moral corruption on principle, is a kind of wickedness which even candour must condemn as *diabolical*." *Liberal Education: or a Practical Treatise on the Methods of acquiring Useful and Polite Learning*, 10th edit. 1789, vol. ii. pp. 307-309. "It was a mean subterfuge to make history the oblique channel of theological infidelity. An ingenuous young man takes up the book, from the laudable motive of improving his mind with historical knowledge. But, as he reads, he finds himself corrupted, and is cheated into irreligion and libertinism." V. Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 1793, vol. i. p. 110.

The popular prejudice was so strong that the President of Harvard College deemed it wise to announce publicly in the "Columbian Centinel," November 16, 1791, that "Gibbon's History was never thought of" for the Harvard curriculum, that Millot's Elements were preferred; — the latter a history in five volumes aggregating some two thousand pages, translated from the French of the Abbé Millot and written under an order of the Duke of Parma. October 26, 1786, J. Q. Adams wrote: "I employ most of my time at present in reading the Abbé Millot's Elements of History. They are well written but very concise. He is quite philosophical: in some passages perhaps too much so. At least he calls in question many historical facts without sufficient reason, I think. His reflections, which seem to form the greatest part of the work, are for the most part just, and display much humanity, which is an essential requisite in an historian."

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chapter xxii.

have this day been very idle. Mr. Parsons has been talking all day with some one or other who came to the office. Much of our time is lost in this manner; and if we complain we are told we must learn to read without suffering ourselves to be interrupted by any noise whatever — a direction with which, I believe, I shall never be able to comply. And it would be much more agreeable to me, if he would receive his company in the other room, and spare us the trouble of an apprenticeship to an art which we cannot acquire.

26th. I took a long walk this afternoon with Putnam, and as we came back we stop'd at Mrs. Hooper's. Townsend is still there, the weather being so unsettled that he has not ventured to go much from the house yet. He must, however, go in a few days so [to] Ipswich as he is to be sworn in at that Court. We play'd quadrill. Miss Knight and Miss Phillips were there; with the latter of these ladies I have never hitherto had any acquaintance. I went a mile with her, after ten, to wait on her home, and on the way met Master Thompson, but as I returned I could not overtake him.

27th. I went with Pickman, Amory, Stacey, and Putnam to Salisbury, to see a vessel launch'd. She stuck as she went off. We dined there, but the party was very far from being agreeable. A. Orne is an habitual debauchee who at the age of five or six and twenty has brought upon himself the infirmities of old age. He is one of those human beings whom to see is to despise. The description in the choice of Hercules beautifully expresses the character. At about five in the afternoon, I return'd with Pickman and Putnam to Newbury-Port, and from thence walk'd up to Little's, where we found Thompson and Sawyer. We pass'd the evening agreeably; and much more to our satisfaction than we could have done with those other lads whom we left at Salisbury.

Vast happiness enjoy the gay Allies!  
 A Youth of Follies; an old age of Cares:  
 Young, yet enervate; old yet never wise;  
 Vice wastes their vigour, and their Mind impairs.

28th. The weather was pleasant. Townsend rode this day. I pass'd the evening with him, and found Miss Knight at Mrs. Hooper's. After having dismiss'd two or three inconstant suitors, she is now address'd by a Mr. Gregory from Boston, to whom she will probably soon be united.

With all the charms of beauty richly fraught,  
 Lucinda's form my fond attention caught.  
 A faultless person and a lovely mind,  
 I found with wonder, were in her combin'd  
 Deficient only in a single part,  
 She wanted nothing but a feeling heart.

Calm and unruffled as a Summer Sea,  
 From Passions' gales Lucinda's breast is free,  
 A faithless lover she may well defy  
 Recall her heart nor breathe a single sigh  
 And should a second prove inconstant too  
 She changes on till she can find one true.<sup>1</sup>

Such a character may be esteemed ; it may likewise be beloved, for she has had more than one lover ; but their unsteadiness may possibly derive some excuse from this very disposition of hers ; for my own part, I never could conceive such sentiments with respect to her as would enable me to be inconstant.

29th. I received two or three letters for Little, and after finishing the day at the office, I went and delivered them. He went with me and pass'd the evening with Townsend. Mr. Morland came in to wait on Miss Knight home ; but she prefer'd staying a day or two longer where she was. Mr. Cutler was an hour or two with us. Sometime after ten, I came home.

30th. Parson Toppan of Newtown preach'd at our meeting this day. I attended all day and was very much pleased with his ingenuity. He is quite orthodox enough, although he has contended with Mr. Spring upon some very knotty points. His delivery is not graceful, nor even agreeable ; but the sound sense and ingenuity which appear in his sermons more than compensate for defects which are so common. I have read through Knox's treatise upon Education,<sup>2</sup> and in general am much pleased with it. If his censures of the present times did not some times border upon ill-nature, and if he had not profess'd to maintain the advantages of prejudice and partiality, I should place much greater confidence in his opinion ; but his complaints in many cases are but too just and too applicable to the manners of this country.

31st. Mr. Parsons held a Justice's Court for the trial of a trifling action of trover and conversion, — the dispute was about 600 feet of pine boards. The witnesses on both sides were examined, and, after a trial of two hours, Mr. Parsons advised them to settle the matter between themselves without any judgment, which they accordingly did. The weather for a day or two past has been very mild and pleasant ; verifying the vulgar saying, mentioned at the beginning of the month. I walk'd with Putnam this afternoon, and pass'd the evening with Townsend.

Tuesday, April 1st, 1788.

The Court sits this day at Ipswich. Mr. Parsons went in the afternoon. I dined with him. Pickman gone to Salem, so that for two or

<sup>1</sup> "The Vision," in "Poems of Religion and Society," by J. Q. Adams (1850), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Vicessimus Knox (1752-1821), *Liberal Education, or a Practical Treatise on the Methods of acquiring Useful and Polite Learning*. London, 1781.

three days I have been wholly alone at the office. Putnam took a long walk with me; he has been amusing himself with Stacey this day by the prescriptive privilege of deceiving. The manner was imprudent and the thing itself beneath his years; but there is a pleasure in playing the fool at times; and perhaps these are peculiarly excusable. As we returned from our walk, I stop'd in at Mrs. Hooper's to pass the last evening with Townsend. Parson Bass was there, but soon went off. Amory took his usual rout; a Mr. Gartz, who belongs to Baltimore, Mr. Cutler and Thompson were with us all the evening; and we left them a little after ten.

2d. This day Townsend and Amory finally left us and were to be sworn into the Court of Common Pleas at Ipswich. They entered the office both nearly at the same time, and have both continued here more than three years. Their characters and dispositions are essentially different. With Townsend I have been very intimate ever since I came to this town, but my acquaintance with Amory has only been such as necessarily followed from being so frequently with him. Townsend is in his twenty fifth year. His genius is very good, and somewhat eccentric. While at College, and for some time after, he laboured under great disadvantages from his narrow circumstances; but for three or four years past he has been well supported by a wealthy uncle who has no children, and who will probably leave him something. Since he came here his studies have repeatedly been interrupted; and he has been obliged to attend for months together upon his brother, who died last summer in a consumption. The time which he could spend here was generally well employ'd. His disposition was easy and contented; rather apt to contract prejudices either favourable or unfavorable to persons from their first appearance; his friendships very strong, and his aversions rather severe. He was attached to his opinions, and would defend them with warmth; so that many of his acquaintance think him obstinate. But he has frequently said, and, I believe, justly, that obstinacy consists in persevering in an opinion without being willing to defend it when attacked, not in being unwilling to give it up without sufficient grounds to conclude it erroneous; and if his definition be true I do not think he can properly [be] called obstinate. Upon general subjects his sentiments coincided very well with mine; but we differed very frequently in descending to particulars. Generosity, humanity and benevolence are the ornaments of his heart, and in short from his whole character I have such an attachment for him, that I shall regret much his leaving this town. My anxiety for his health increases this regret; his disorder is alarming, and by so much the more as it has been peculiarly fatal to his family. Amory I will mention to-morrow. I took a walk with Putnam this afternoon, and as we returned Putnam urged me to go in to Dr. Smith's, to which I finally agreed. Putnam pass'd

a number of high encomiums upon Miss Smith; but as soon as we went into the house I found Miss Bradbury there; which explained Putnam's eagerness. I sat and conversed till about nine o'clock, and then came off, leaving my companion with his Dulcinea there.

3d. Thompson went yesterday morning to Ipswich, and returned last evening. I dined with him to day. Frank Bradbury and Putnam were likewise there. Amory and Townsend were sworn into Court yesterday in the afternoon, and immediately went on to Salem. Amory, whom I promised to mention this day, is about twenty three. At a very early period of life he was engaged in scenes of intemperance and debauchery, and contracted a fondness for them which he has not yet conquered. His imagination is lively and his apprehension uncommonly quick; but a great degree of volatility and unsteadiness render all his reforming resolutions abortive. With any particular object before him he is indefatigably active and industrious; but when it is on[c]e accomplished he too often relapses into dissipation and inattention. Of almost three years and a half which have past since he entered Mr. Parsons's office, he has not, I suppose, spent two in this town, and of that time perhaps he has not employ'd one half in the office. Yet such are his natural advantages for improvement that, in the short time which he has devoted to study, he has acquired almost as much knowledge of the Law as a common person would, who should have been attentive through the whole period. Notwithstanding his habits of intemperance he has formed a tender connection with a young lady in this town, who is undoubtedly firmly persuaded that he will marry her. It will certainly be a great misfortune to her, should she be disappointed; for after so long, and so great an intimacy, with a young fellow whose principles and practice are so repugnant to the general ideas of morality and religion, it must be supposed that any other young gentleman would be somewhat punctilious before he would venture to pay his addresses to her. Unfortunately the same causes which are prejudicial to her reputation will tend to render him faithless and inconstant. All that can be hoped is (and it is devoutly to be wished) that his native good sense and strength of mind will rise superior to all his youthful follies, and that of all the heterogeneous qualities which compose his character, the good only will remain. His manners and address are remarkably agreeable and insinuating, and he possess[es] candour to applaud in others even those virtues of which he is most destitute. In short we may fairly say that, without an essential alteration in his course of life, he will ever be a worthless character; but that, with such alterations as time and experience may very well produce, he may become one of the best and most useful men in the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Amory, born in Boston; a graduate of Harvard (1784); died in 1792, aged twenty-seven. He married the young lady referred to in the text,

Dr. Kilham returned this afternoon from Boston, and Mr. Parsons from Ipswich. I took a long walk after dinner with Putnam, F. Bradbury, and Thompson, and we passed the evening at Putnam's lodgings.

4th. The weather has been rather disagreeable this day. In the evening I went with Thompson and Putnam to Mr. Bradbury's, where we found a large company. Mr. W. Parsons and his wife, Mr. Sigourney and his enamorata, and an innumerable quantity of Miss Greenleafs. We pass'd the evening as usual, singing, playing cards, &c. Mr. Sigourney has a very good voice, and entertained the company much more than such exercises generally do. We retired between ten and eleven o'clock.

5th. Rain'd again a great part of the day. Putnam pass'd the evening at my lodgings. We conversed upon a variety of subjects. I am more pleased with him than I was while we were classmates. He is not exempt from that puerility which I mentioned as constituting his character; and I have sometimes seen him exert a degree of little cunning to obtain an end in trifles where it was totally unnecessary even to serve his own purpose. But he is good-natured and friendly; willing and ready to oblige; easy and contented; enjoying the present and looking forward to futurity without sufficient anxiety to embitter his happiness. I often envy him his feelings. For "who by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature?" The prospects of life which are before me are by far the most frequent employment of my thoughts; and according to the different temperature of my spirits, I am sometimes elated with hope, sometimes contented with indifference, but often tormented with fears, and depressed by the most discouraging appearances. Such reflections serve only to deprive me of my present enjoyments; after all, the events which time is to produce must take their course and "sufficient surely to the day is the evil thereof."

6th. A Parson Allen preach'd this day for Mr. Carey. I went to hear him in the forenoon. His sermon was sensible, but his delivery was quite disagreeable. His manner of speaking was so singular that several times it was with difficulty I restrained myself from laughing. I did not feel a great inclination to hear him again, and I therefore went in the afternoon and heard Mr. Murray. He is an orator; but if he did not betray such a consciousness of his own powers, while in the pulpit, he would be much more pleasing to me. There is no situation, perhaps, in which that consummate art of concealing art is more requisite than in the desk. Art is undoubtedly necessary in speaking to command the attention of an audience; but if that art is apparent the solemnity of the occasion greatly tends to increase the disgust which I always conceive against affectation. For when a preacher appears so and had two daughters. He had already been admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

wholly occupied with the admiration of his own rhetorical talents, it seems he can have but little concern for the important subject of which his eloquence is only the instrument, and which ought to be the chief, I had almost said the only, object of his thoughts.

7th. I went with Thompson to Mr. Atkins's, to answer to an action which we had brought before him this day. The first Monday in April, being the day appointed by the Constitution for the choice of Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Senators, the town meeting here began at ten in the morning, and the poll was closed at four in the afternoon. Mr. Hancock and General Lincoln had a great majority in this town, as well as in Newbury, and a Federal list of Senators; for Fed and anti are the only distinctions at this day. Mr. S. Adams had a number of votes for Lieutt. Governor, but, for what reason I cannot tell, all the influence was against him. The revolution that has taken place in sentiments within one twelve month past must be astonishing to a person unacquainted with the weaknesses, the follies, and the vices of human nature. The very men who at the last election declared that the Commonwealth would be ruined if Mr. Hancock was chosen have now done every thing to get him in. And the other side are equally capricious.<sup>1</sup> We have not yet got sufficiently settled to

<sup>1</sup> A letter written by J. Q. Adams to his father, and dated Braintree, June 30, 1787, describes the conditions attending the elections of the preceding year. It reads as follows:—

"... Mr. Hancock was again elected governor this year, and out of 18,000 votes he had more than 13,000. This plainly shows that the people in general are displeased with some part of Mr. Bowdoin's conduct: but it is the caprice of an ungrateful populace, for which it must ever be impossible to account. Mr. Hancock is very much involved in debt, if common report be true; it is even confidently asserted that his present estate would not by any means do justice to his creditors. It is therefore concluded that he would favour tender acts, paper currencies and all those measures, which would give the sanction of the law to private fraud and villainy: it was supposed that a Senate and an House of Representatives would be chosen, perfectly willing to abolish all contracts public and private, ready in short to redress the people's grievances, that is, to gratify their passions and justify their crimes. But these fears were not entirely well grounded; there are indeed several Senators and many Representatives, who would stick at nothing. A Willard, a Drury, a Whitney, and many others, who have openly espoused the cause of treason and rebellion, are now among the legislators of the country; *intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem reipublicæ molientes*. There is however in both branches of the legislature a majority of well meaning men, who will support the dignity of the government, and who will not prostitute the honour of their country. A motion was made a few days since, that a committee should be appointed to examine the merits of a paper currency, and to report upon the expediency of an emission at present, but there was a majority of more than 50, even against the committing of it. It has been resolved that the Court should move out of the town of Boston, and the committee have finally recommended Concord as the most proper place to which it may be removed. The people in the country are very earnest in this point; and as usual without knowing why. The salaries of all civil officers, which are now too small, will infallibly be reduced



have stated parties; but we shall soon, I have no doubt, obtain the blessing. I pass'd an hour or two this evening with Thompson at Mrs. Emery's, and he spent half an hour with me, till nine o'clock.

8th. Pickman returned last evening from Salem. The votes in that town, and in several others from which accounts have been received, are equally favorable or more so than they were in this town to Mr. Hancock and General Lincoln. I called and passed an hour or two at Mrs. Hooper's in the evening. Miss Cazneau was there. Came home early in the evening.

Belinda next advanc'd with rapid stride  
A compound strange of Vanity and Pride  
Around her face no wanton Cupids play,  
Her tawny skin, defies the God of Day,  
Loud was her laugh, undaunted was her look,  
And folly seem'd to dictate what she spoke.  
In vain the Poet's and musician's art  
Combine to move the Passions of the heart,  
Belinda's voice like grating hinges groans,  
And in harsh thunder roars a lover's moans.<sup>1</sup>

9th. Dined with Pickman and Thompson at Mr Parsons's upon salmon, which begin now to be caught in the river. We did not do much business in the afternoon. I called upon Putnam, after taking a walk with Thompson, but Putnam was engaged for the evening, so that I soon came home to my lodgings.

still lower. Mr. Hancock, who has a peculiar talent of pleasing the multitude, has compounded the matter by offering to make a present to the public of 300£, but I consider this as a pernicious precedent; a palliative worse than it would have been, had the legislature curtailed the salary. For if one man gives up 300£, another, fishing equally for popularity, may give more, and the chair of government may finally be offered to the lowest bidder. It is impossible for a free nation to subsist without parties, and unfortunately our parties are not yet form'd. The democratical branch of our government is at present quite unrival'd; and we severely feel the want of sufficient strength in the other branches. The Senate indeed has several times within these eighteen months saved the commonwealth from complete anarchy, and perhaps from destruction; but its hands are tied; and the people are too generally disposed to abolish the Senate as an useless body. I have indeed great hopes that the Defence of the Constitutions will produce an alteration in their sentiments; it will certainly have great weight. One printer in Boston is employ'd in printing a new edition of this book, and another is retailing it twice a week in a newspaper; so that I hope it will be sufficiently spread throughout the Commonwealth. As to the monarchical power, it appears to be entirely out of the question, and unless by a revolution it be established upon the ruin of the two others, it will never possess influence sufficient to hold the balance between them."

The reference in the closing lines of the above letter is to John Adams's *Defence of the American Constitutions*, London, 3 vols. 1787, 1788. See *Life and Works of John Adams*, vols. iv.-vi.

<sup>1</sup> "The Vision," a poem by J. Q. Adams in "*Poems of Religion and Society*" (1850), p. 111.

10th. From the divers interruptions which we met with in the course of the day, we did but little at the office. We met this evening at Pickman's chamber. He has joined us, and is regularly with us. Stacey likewise pass'd the evening with us, and Mr. W. Farnham. I agreed to go with Pickman to Haverhill to-morrow. From thence I intend in the beginning of the next week to proceed to Cambridge, attend at the exhibition there; and then go to Braintree and spend a few days. And I shall probably meet my brothers there. I have sometimes intended to wait for my father's arrival before I should go that way; but it is almost six months since I saw my friends in Cambridge, Braintree, &c., which makes me somewhat impatient; and, if I wait for my father, I know not whether I shall go in one month or two. As I have been so little absent through the winter, I may venture now to indulge myself for a fortnight.

11th. I set out with Pickman this morning at about nine o'clock. The weather was clear though rather windy; before twelve we arrived at Haverhill. I went immediately to Mr. Shaw's, and Pickman went to the tavern to meet a carriage which he expected from Salem; but very unfortunately he found the carriage had past through the town, not more than a quarter of an hour before he got there. Such disappointments are peculiarly teasing to lovers, and are felt perhaps more keenly than greater misfortunes.<sup>1</sup> After dinner I went down to Mr. White's, and was sorry to find that Leonard was gone to Hamstead with his mother. I call'd likewise at Mr. Thaxter's, but he was not at home. I sat half an hour with Mrs. Thaxter, who has met with a misfortune and been very unwell for some time past. I thence went up to Judge Sargeant's to pay a visit there; and I found Mr. Thaxter with him. I returned soon and drank tea at Mr. Thaxter's; and soon after went back to Mr Shaw's.

12th. In the forenoon I went down and spent a couple of hours with Mr Thaxter; the rest of the day I employ'd in reading upon several subjects. I took up Hudibras in the afternoon, and diverted myself with it for an hour or two.

13th. Attended meeting all day. Dined at Mr. Thaxter's with Mr. J. Duncan. And in the afternoon after service, we took a long walk. When we return'd to Mr. Thaxter's we found Mr. Bartlett and his wife and Leonard White there. Mr. Parsons came in soon after. He is going to attend the Supreme Court who will sit this week at Concord. The conversation soon turned upon political subjects; I knew we should have over again what I have heard twenty times; and therefore I took a walk with Leonard White; and went home between nine and ten in the evening.

<sup>1</sup> A year and a half later Pickman married Anastiss Derby, daughter of Elias H. Derby, the most eminent merchant in Salem.

14th. I met with several impediments in the morning so that it was eleven o'clock before I cross'd the river. The weather was very good, but growing cloudy. I got to Doctor Kitteridge's<sup>1</sup> house at Andover, before one. I stop'd to see my classmate W. Abbot,<sup>2</sup> and dined there. Bowman and Wyeth<sup>3</sup> were likewise there. I would say something of Mrs. Kitteridge, but it would be now a very improper time to give an account of such impressions. I left the house before three; and soon after it began to rain, and continued without intermission until I arrived at Cambridge; I got there at about six. I rode eight or ten miles with an Almsbury man who is going to Concord Court upon business. Mr. Parsons is engaged in his cause, and the man had a deal to say about lawyers. I found my brothers at our old chamber; and after sitting with them half an hour went over, and pass'd the remainder of the evening with Packard. I found Cushman at his chamber, and we spent the eve very sociably. Clarke had been riding in the rain, as well as myself, the greatest part of the day. He came from Harvard, where he went to accompany Grosvenor, who went home very sick a few days ago. Cushman<sup>4</sup> is apprehensive that he will not be able to obtain his

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas Kittredge, about forty years of age, served as surgeon of the First Massachusetts Regiment in the Revolutionary War; elected this year (1788) with William Symmes (see *supra*, p. 38) to the Massachusetts Convention; voted against the ratification of the Constitution of the United States; 1802-1809, 1811, 1815, 1817, represented Andover in the Legislature; 1810-1811 on the Governor's Council; died 1818. His new mansion, built in 1784, was the finest in North Andover; still standing (1880). S. L. Bailey, *Hist. Sketches of Andover*, pp. 157-159. Abbot, a classmate of J. Q. Adams, was a student in his office.

<sup>2</sup> "William Lovejoy Abbot was twenty-one January 18th. He belongs to Andover, and is the head of our class. He purposes studying Physic. A very steady sober lad, he appears fond of being thought a dry humorous fellow, and has acquired a great command of his countenance. His wit would not please in the mouth of any other person; but his manner of producing it seldom fails of raising the laugh. He is a very good speaker, especially such pieces as conceal the features of mirth under the mask of gravity." J. Q. Adams, diary, August 25, 1786. Born in Andover, January 18, 1765; died April, 1798; a physician in Haverhill.

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel Bowman (H. C. 1786) and Tapley Wyeth (H. C. 1786) were later physicians — the one at Gorham, Me.; the other at Sherburne, Mass.

<sup>4</sup> "Joshua Cushman of Bridgewater will be twenty-three the 11th of next month. Poverty appears to be his greatest enemy; she opposes his progress, and he has a very great struggle with her to go through College. For genius he is neither at the Zenith nor at the Nadir; but somewhere about half way between. For improvements, he has made as many perhaps as his circumstances would allow him. In composition, an admiration of beautiful periods and elegant expression have taken from the natural taste for that simplicity in which alone true beauty and elegance consist. His conversation sometimes degenerates into bombast; to express that he wants a glass of water he will say, that within the concave excavation of his body, there are certain cylindric tubes which require to be replenished from the limpid fountain or the meandering rivulet. In the public exercises of composition, his greatest fault is prolixity. He will write two sheets





and entertained us for some time with his quaint wit. I paid several visits in the course of the forenoon; pass'd a couple of hours very agreeably with Miss Wigglesworth and Miss Jones — the latter of these two ladies, in former times, was not with me upon so good terms as at present. I thought her capricious and ill-natured; but of late she has been much better. I once wrote a double acrostic for her, neither part of which was true. As I did not insert them at the time I will now introduce one of them; for the contrast is false and unjust. I went to see Mr. Smith, the Librarian, and also to Mr. Gannett's,<sup>1</sup> where Miss Lucy Cranch<sup>2</sup> has been these two months past. The young lovers went home this forenoon with the Miss Clarkes; and Mr. Andrews did not get back till we had nearly dined. Immediately after dinner I mounted my horse; and got to Mr. Cranch's, between six and seven. My aunt, I found, was gone to Cambridge for Lucy, and expects to return with her to-morrow. I found my friends well except W. Cranch, who has been very unwell, but is recovering. . . .

17th. Fast day. In the forenoon I remained at home, and spent my time in writing and reading. In the afternoon I heard Parson Wibird. Mrs. Cranch and Miss Lucy came home this evening; a person from Boston brought us some letters<sup>3</sup> which came from Europe. Callahan

1785, recommending "your old acquaintance [at Leyden] John Quincy Adams" to his "attention and favor" on entering Harvard. John Adams, Works, vol. ix. pp. 530, 531, vol. iii. p. 209; J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, vol. vii. pp. 14, 15, 230; vol. viii. p. 546; vol. ix. p. 4; also letter from Dr. Waterhouse to J. Q. Adams in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d series, vol. xv. pp. 460-462.

<sup>1</sup> Caleb Gannett (H. C. 1763), steward of the college 1779-1818; born in Bridgewater; pastor in Nova Scotia 1768-1771; identified with Harvard from 1773 till his death as tutor, fellow, or steward; one of the projectors of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 277-285.

<sup>2</sup> Lucy Cranch, cousin of J. Q. Adams, daughter of Richard Cranch; born September 16, 1767; married, April 4, 1795, John Greenleaf, a blind musician, son of William Greenleaf, of Boston; resided in Quincy; died February 18, 1846. J. E. Greenleaf, Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Among them was the following characteristic letter from his father: —

GROSVENOR SQUARE, Jan. 23, 1788.

MY DEAR JOHN, — I am much pleased with your oration and much obliged to you for it. It seems to me, making allowance for a father's partiality, to be full of manly sense and spirit. By the sentiments and principles in that oration, I hope you will live and die, and if you do I don't care a farthing how many are preferred to you, for style, elegance and mellifluence.

To Vattel and Burlamaqui, whom you say you have read, you must add Grotius and Puffendorf and Heineccius, and besides this you should have some volume of Ethicks constantly on your table. Morals, my boy, Morals should be, as they are eternal in their nature, the everlasting object of your pursuit. Socrates and Plato, Cicero and Seneca, Butler and Hutchinson, as well as the Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles, should be your continual teachers.

But let me advise you in another art, I mean oratory, not to content yourself

was to sail about the first of this month, which will probably be extended to the fifteenth. By this time, I suppose, my friends will be at sea.

18th. A cold north-east storm confined us to the house all day. I read a few pages in one of Gilbert's treatises, and wrote a little likewise. The time however was spent without much improvement. Doctor Tufts was over here yesterday, and this day he was attending upon Miss Quincy, who has been very ill in consequence of making a mistake in taking medicine, by swallowing salt petre instead of salts.

19th. The weather has been rather better this day than it was yesterday. I went with both my brothers on a shooting party, an amusement which I follow nowhere except at Braintree, though there could not perhaps be a more miserable place for sport. Dined with W. Cranch and my brothers at Dr. Tufts's in Weymouth; and saw Mrs. Tufts<sup>1</sup> for the first time since her marriage. Last fall she was at Newbury-Port, when Mr. Odiorne was married; and at that time had no thoughts, or at least no expectation, of changing her situation soon. But Mr. Tufts, who had always been remarkably backward in affairs of this nature, was equally expeditious when he was once engaged. He could not even wait till he had got an house ready; but married immediately and lives for the present with his father. We return'd, so as to get home just before dark.

20th. I pass'd the forenoon at home in writing. In the afternoon, I attended meeting and heard Mr. Wibird. After meeting, I went down to view the house,<sup>2</sup> which they are repairing for my father. with Blair and Sheridan, but to read Cicero and Quintilian, — and to read them with a dictionary, grammar and pen and ink, for Juvenal is very right

Studium sine Calamo Somnium.

Preserve your Latin and Greek like the apple of your eye.

When you attend the Superior Court, carry always your pen and ink and paper and take notes of every dictum, every point and every authority. But remember to show the same respect to the Judges and lawyers who are established in practice before you, as you resolved to show the President, tutors professors, and masters and batchelors at Colledge.

Mr Parsons, your master, is a great lawyer and should be your oracle.

But you have now an intercourse with his clients, whom it is your duty to treat with kindness, modesty and civility, and to whose rights and interests you ought to have an inviolable attachment. Mr. Parsons's honour, reputation and interest should be as dear to you as your own.

I hope to see you in May, — Meantime I am with the tenderest affection your Father.

JOHN ADAMS.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 43, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> "This was the house of Leonard Vassall, a West India planter, which, after the Revolution, had been sequestrated as Tory property. It was built in 1731, and Mr. Adams bought it in 1785. The Vassalls were genteel people, and rigid Episcopalians. . . . The house in Quincy was used as a summer resort, and still contains one room [the parlor] paneled from floor to ceiling in solid St. Domingo mahogany. Originally a small dwelling, it has been added to." Here John Adams

I was not perfectly pleased with it; but it now appears in a very unfavourable light. They are obliged to make the most necessary repairs very hastily, expecting my father in a few weeks. I am in hopes that after my parents return, this place will be more lively and agreeable to me than it is at present. I think I shall never make it the standing place of my residence;<sup>1</sup> but I shall wish to pass much of my time here, and hope the change may be for the better.

21st. We were again confined all day to the house by the badness of the weather. Mr. Cranch, however, went to Boston. I find, as I always have found, great inconveniences in writing here, and indeed there are no small inconveniences in thinking. I wrote, however, a little, and read a few pages in Gilbert's treatise of Evidence,<sup>2</sup> it being a law book. W. Cranch is reading Bacon,<sup>3</sup> but makes no great progress in it at Braintree. It is a book which many instructors recommend to be read through in course; but Mr. Parsons says it is calculated only to make matter of fact lawyers; men, who, without knowing the true principles upon which the science is grounded, or the reasoning by which it is supported, will be confined in their knowledge to its *lex scripta est*, and will be incapable of applying the principles to new cases, or to circumstances different from such as have already taken place.

22d. I took a ride in the forenoon with W. Cranch. Mr. Cranch came home from Boston, and brought young Waters with him. Mr. Weld, with his wife and her sister, pass'd the afternoon here; and when I return'd from my father's library, where I went to take a list of his law-books, I found Mr. Norton<sup>4</sup> here. He has some thoughts of going to Menotomy to-morrow, to Mr. Fiske's<sup>5</sup> ordination; and made this

and his wife spent their latter days and "celebrated their golden wedding, and here too, marvelous to relate, was celebrated the golden wedding of their son John Quincy Adams, and that of their grandson, Charles Francis Adams." D. M. Wilson, "Where American Independence Began," pp. 98, 99. This book contains several views of the house and many portraits. The house is still in the possession of the Adams family, and is now (1902) occupied as a summer residence by Mr. Brooks Adams. See also *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, vol. ii. p. 681.

<sup>1</sup> It resulted otherwise. See *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, vol. vii. pp. 130, 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Treatise on Evidence*, by Sir Geoffrey Gilbert, chief Baron of the Exchequer, had been published a quarter of a century; first edition 1761.

<sup>3</sup> *The Elements of the Common Law*, by Sir Francis Bacon, was first published in 1630, and had been in use as a text-book for one hundred and fifty years.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Jacob Norton (H. C. 1786), born in Abington February 12, 1764; son of Samuel and grandson of Captain John Norton; ordained at Weymouth October 10, 1787; married Elizabeth Cranch February 11, 1789; pastor at Weymouth 1787-1824; died at Billerica January 17, 1858; "a tall, erect, spare man of dignified appearance." Nash, *Sketch of Weymouth*, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Thaddeus Fiske (H. C. 1785), born in Weston June 22, 1762; pastor at Menotomy (now Arlington) 1788-1828; married June 17, 1789, Lucy, daughter of Rev. Jonas Clarke, of Lexington; died in Charlestown November 14, 1855. Cutter, *Hist. of Arlington*, pp. 240-242.



a stage on his way. He is paying his addresses to Miss Betsey Cranch, and will, I suppose, marry her, unless some particular accident should intervene. He was ordained last fall at Weymouth, in the parish where my grandfather Smith was settled; and he is said to be a young man of good sense and a good disposition.

23d. The weather was so disagreeable that Mr. Norton gave up the thoughts of going to Menotomy, and return'd to Weymouth. It has been very dull a great part of this month. March was much more agreeable. My brothers, however, went over to Milton in the afternoon. I intended when I came here to have returned yesterday to Cambridge; but I have deferr'd it, and shall probably still defer it till Friday. On Saturday, I must certainly get home to Newbury-Port; where by my diligence I must repair the loss of time which I have sustained in this town.

24th. Charles went to Boston this morning, and brought me back some letters from Europe. I went in the forenoon with Miss Betsey Cranch down to Mrs. Quincy's, where she intends to spend a few days; but I did not see either of the ladies there. Miss Quincy has in some measure recovered from the illness occasioned by a mistake in taking a medicine. I spent my time this day, as I have every day since I came here, somewhat miscellaneously.

25th. I left Braintree between nine and ten, and stopp'd about half an hour at Genl. Warren's. He was gone to Plymouth, but Mrs. Warren was at home. The Genl's political character has undergone of late a great alteration. Among all those who were formerly his friends he is extremely unpopular; while the insurgent and antifederal party (for it is but one) consider him in a manner as their head, and have given him at this election many votes for lieutenant governor. Mrs. Warren complained that he had been abused shamefully, and very undeservedly; but she thought me too federal to talk freely with me. I called for a few minutes at George's office, which he has lately opened. I got to Cambridge a little before one, and called at the butler's room, where I found Mr. Ware and Packard. Dined at Judge Dana's. Miss Jones was there, and agreeable as usual. In the afternoon I went to Dr. Williams's. Sam has been gone about two months to sea. Jenny is still losing her beauty and will soon have none to lose. I was at Abbot's chamber an hour or two, and return'd to Mr. Dana's with Packard to tea. Stedman and Harris, and my very good friend and classmate, O. Fiske, pass'd the evening there; and it was uncommonly sociable. I had promised Pickman to meet him this day in Salem, but was prevented by the weather, as it rain'd all the afternoon. I forgot to mention that my classmate Harris<sup>1</sup> dined with

<sup>1</sup> A lifelong friend of J. Q. Adams; pastor of the First Unitarian Church, Dorchester, Mass., for nearly half a century. J. Q. Adams wrote of him April 9,

us at Judge Dana's. He came a day or two ago from Worcester, where he is now keeping school. It was feared that he was in a decline, but I think he looks better than he did when we left College.

26th. Between five and six this morning, I left the Judge's house with Mr. Andrews, who is going to preach at Newbury-Port. We stopp'd at the Colleges, to take their letters, but they had not risen. The clock struck six as we went out of the College yard. We breakfasted at Newell's tavern,<sup>1</sup> and got into Salem at about ten o'clock. I paid a visit to Mr. Read; he is going to be married, and to a young lady with a large fortune, which is rather surprizing. I met Pickman in the street, and went home with him. After sitting a few minutes we walk'd about the town; I went to see Miss Hazen, who appears just as she did two years ago. Dined with Pickman, and at about two o'clock Andrews called me, to proceed. The weather was so windy, and the surf so great that we had some little difficulty in getting over Beverley ferry.<sup>2</sup> We arrived in Newbury-Port at about seven. I went and pass'd a couple of hours with Putnam. I then came home, and soon retired, as I was exceedingly fatigued and felt very stiff.

27th. I attended meeting all day, and heard Mr. Andrews. He

1787: "Thaddeus Mason Harris of Malden, Middlesex, will be nineteen the 7th of next July. As a scholar he is respectable, and his natural abilities are far from contemptible; he has a taste for poetry and painting which wants cultivation, and a benevolent heart which wants judgment to direct it. He has a great share of sensibility, which has led him into an excessive fondness for pathetic composition; so that all his exercises appear to be attempts to rouse the passions, though frequently the subject itself will not admit of passion. His speaking is injured by the same fault; for in endeavouring to call up the affections of his hearers, he runs into a canting manner, which disgusts instead of pleasing. This failing is however amiable, because it proceeds from the warmth of his heart. His disposition I believe to be very good, and if the picture is a little shaded by vanity, a foible so universal ought to meet always with our indulgence. His constitution is feeble, and his circumstances are penurious, but his spirit is independent, and his mind is cheerful." October 3, 1789, Samuel Putnam wrote from Newburyport to J. Q. Adams in Braintree: "Our friend and classmate Harris preach't here the Sunday after Andrews's return. He was very ingenious, but his voice was very low. His manner is solemn. On the whole he has improved surprisingly. He went to our club and appeared at least to be as happy as any of us."

<sup>1</sup> Newell's inn, the most ancient tavern in Lynn and one of the most celebrated in the country. Situated at the midway point on the road from Boston to Salem, in a picturesque spot above the Saugus River within sight of the sea, kept by a long succession of hospitable landlords, it had been the favorite resting-place of travellers to the eastward from Boston for over a century, and continued so until the new turnpike from Salem to Boston was opened in 1803, and diverted travel from the old road. From Governors Brailstreet and Endicott to Presidents Washington and Adams, it counted among its guests most of the prominent men of the time.

<sup>2</sup> Five months later they could have crossed on the Essex Bridge.





she was so unwell that we supposed company would not be very agreeable to her, and soon came away. We met Thompson just as we were coming out, he turn'd about, and came back with us. I have little to say. That part of my time which is best improved is productive of nothing which may properly be recorded here; and as these volumes, or the greater part of their contents, are only an account of the occurrences of my idle hours, they must be proportionably trifling and insignificant. While I was in College these books were useful, as they contained copies of all my compositions, which I wished to preserve; but since I graduated, I have scarcely composed any thing, and indeed I have been much too negligent in that respect; but with so many other objects to engross my attention and employ my time, I have perhaps some excuse.

7th. The weather was very fine; I took a long walk in the evening with Thompson and Putnam. Thompson left us, and went to see Parson Spring. Putnam came home, and past the remainder of the evening with me. I have used myself for several days past to rise very early, and should wish to do so through the summer; but my propensity to sleep is so great that it is almost always impossible for me to awake so soon as I wish.

8th. The town met this afternoon to make choice of representatives for the ensuing year. Jona. Greenleaf, Esqr.<sup>1</sup> Theop. Parsons, Esqr., Captn. W. Coombs and Mr. Jonan. Marsh<sup>2</sup> were the persons elected. We met in the evening at Putnam's lodgings. Stacey desired to join the Club, and was accordingly received. Little did not come, and, as we began to be impatient, we sent over to Dr. Swett's for him, but they sent us word that he was gone to be inoculated for the small pox. This disorder was introduced by a mistake of Dr. Smith, in consequence of which a number of persons have been inoculated, and removed to the pest house. Little went without leave or licence, and is liable to prosecution for so doing; but in his circumstances, I think, he was very excusable in running the risk.

9th. Violent north-east storm, all day. We all dined with Mr. Parsons. Thompson pass'd the evening with me. This storm gives

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Greenleaf, born July, 1723, in Newbury, began life a poor boy as an apprentice to a ship-builder; married at twenty-one Mary Presbury, the daughter of his employer; carried on the business in person for over twenty years; then entered public life and held office almost constantly from 1768 to 1792, representing the town in the Legislature before, during, and after the War of the Revolution; was a member of the "Essex Junto," and known as "old silver tongue" from his skill in persuading political opponents; was an elder in the Presbyterian church; died May 24, 1807. See histories of Newburyport; also J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, pp. 12, 17, 132, 133, 177, 405, 408.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Marsh, a member of the first Committee of Safety of the town, represented it in the Legislature 1788-1791, 1790-1805; died March 7, 1825.

me some anxiety, as possibly Callahan may be now upon the coast. I would hope however for the best.

10th. The storm continued all this day, and rather with increasing violence. Thompson and I again dined with Mr. Parsons. I passed the evening with Putnam, at his lodgings. I this day got through Foster, and have been more pleased than with any professional book I have hitherto read; not even Blackstone excepted. The subject indeed being the Pleas of the Crown is not so immediately connected with a young lawyer's practice as many other books; but as Foster always ascends to first principles, his reasoning may by analogy apply to very different branches. The style is nervous and elegant, suitable to the dignity of the author; and the "pride of virtue," as he himself expresses it, shines forth in every page of the performance. What increases greatly the pleasure with which this book is read, is that the writer appears not only a learned and judicious lawyer but an excellent man. The encomiums which he justly bestows upon Sir Thos. Abney are said to be applicable in a still more eminent manner to himself. And after all, the virtues of the heart have a greater claim even to our veneration and esteem than all the splendid appendages of genius. The compliment which Thompson pays to Pope,

For though not sweeter his own Homer sings,  
Yet in his life the more endearing song,<sup>1</sup>

is more to his honour than the most laboured panegyric that ever was composed, of his talents. I have undertaken to read Hume's History of England<sup>2</sup> again. It is almost seven years since I read it, and the connexion of important events in that kingdom has almost been obliterated from my memory.

11th. I attended meeting to hear Parson Barnard<sup>3</sup> of Salem. He gave us two very excellent sermons; and his prayers were admirable, which is something very uncommon. I am told indeed that he regularly composes this part of the service, as well as his sermons; an example worthy of imitation. His address for Mr. Carey was tender and affectionate, and the manner in which he spoke it was truly affecting. Thompson and Putnam pass'd the evening with me.

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, Seasons: Winter.

<sup>2</sup> Hume's History was written between the years 1752 and 1761: the first volume, covering the reigns of James I. and Charles I., was published in 1754; the last two (Julius Cæsar to Henry VII.) in 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Thomas Barnard (H. C. 1766), pastor of the North Church in Salem 1773-1814; was descended from a ministerial family—his brother, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather being all ministers in Massachusetts. He was born in Newbury, and his sister was the wife of the Rev. John Tucker, D.D., of the First Parish Church of that town. See Rev. John Prince, "Sermon preached . . . on the Death of . . . Rev. Thomas Barnard," 1814.

12th. I have been quite unwell these two or three days past; a disorder recurs with which I have been troubled in the spring, the two years back; and it is more inconvenient this time than it ever has been before. At Mr. Parsons's recommendation, I have this day taken up Hawkins's *Pleas of the Crown*.<sup>1</sup> I think I should not now have selected this book, had it been left at my option. This branch of the law will be of no service to me within these seven years, and there are many subjects which will be more immediately necessary. The theories relating to civil actions will surely be sufficient to employ all my time for the remainder of my three years, and I shall certainly have enough leisure time afterwards to acquire a competent knowledge of the criminal law, before I get to the Supreme Court, if I ever do. However, Mr. Parsons must know better than I what is to be done in this case; and I therefore cheerfully submit to his directions. I took a long, solitary walk this evening, and then came home and amused myself for a half an hour with my flute.

13th. I took a walk with Pickman up to Sawyer's tavern, and drank tea there. The evenings are now so short that it was nine o'clock before we got back. Our future prospects in life were the subject of our conversation. The appearance before him is very fair, — his father is a man of large fortune, which although divided among several children gives each of them a sum sufficient for starting forward. He will now in a few months be ready to enter upon the profession; he is paying his addresses to a young lady whose fortune will probably be amply sufficient; and from appearances I should judge he will be married ere long. Yet even he is anxious for his future welfare, and how much greater reason have I to look forward with terror. I have two long years yet before me, which must be wholly employ'd in study, to qualify myself for any thing. I have no fortune to expect from any part, and the profession is so much crowded that I have no prospect of supporting myself by it for several years after I begin. These are great causes of discouragement; but my only hope and comfort is that diligence, industry, and health may overcome them all.

14th. I walk'd with Thompson up to Mrs. Atkins's. The old lady is gone to Boston to spend a fortnight. Mr. and Mrs. Searle<sup>2</sup> were there; and Mr. Atkins came home soon after. Atkins is a man of abilities,

<sup>1</sup> The *Pleas of the Crown* by William Hawkins had been in use for over seventy years; 1st edit. 1716.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Searle (Mary Russell Atkins) was Mrs. Atkins's eldest daughter; born 1753; married, 1779, George Searle, a merchant in Newburyport; died 1836 in Boston. Mrs. Atkins was probably visiting Mrs. Samuel Eliot, her daughter. Catherine Atkins, born 1758, married, May 14, 1780, Samuel Eliot, a merchant in Boston, grandfather of President Eliot of Harvard University. F. H. Atkins, *Joseph Atkins, The Story of a Family*, pp. 72, 73, 77-80.

but of strong passions; and, as he was cramped in his youth by his penurious circumstances, his disposition was soured and he is now excessively irritable, and his natural frankness has degenerated to the unfeeling bluntness of a cynic. He has now the expectancy of a considerable fortune, at the decease of an aged relation; and it is to be hoped that when that circumstance takes place, it may soften his temper and reconcile him more to his fellow mortals. I still continue quite unwell; it has had one good effect at least, that of making me rise early for several days past.

15th. Club met this evening at Pickman's — all there but Little, who is going through the small pox. Mr. Farnham was there; the evening was agreeable. Pickman left us at half after eight, to call on a lady who came this afternoon from Salem. After nine we took a walk of a mile or two before we retired; just as I got home I met a number of people who had just come from the town-house, where, it seems, they were entertained with a concert this evening.

16th. Took a walk after leaving the office, with Thompson and Putnam. We were for calling in at Mr. Frazier's, to see the young girls, but upon the presumption they were not there I would not stop; accordingly we proceeded. Thompson left us. Putnam was very impatient, but just as we had turn'd the corner into High Street, both Miss Fraziers, and Putnam's own Harriet appeared. He was as happy as present enjoyment can render any one. We walk'd with the girls, and after conducting them home took our leave. Putnam afterwards called to see me. He had no idea of meeting the girls, nor did he even suspect that Harriet could be with them. The most exceptionable part of this young fellow's character is a spirit of deception, a disposition to be cunning, even in the most trifling occurrences of life, in which a complicated policy would require an appearance of the greatest candour and frankness. He is deeply smitten with his Harriet; every look, and every action afford demonstration strong of this. Yet he pretends to deny it. He is sure to meet her every evening; and yet he boldly declares that it never happens but by accident. Upon this subject, it is true, his friends have no right to catechise him; but he himself leads the way by making declarations which any person of common sense, and any ways conversant with him, must know to be totally repugnant with the truth. We laugh at him for this conduct, but he does not appear sensible how much it lessens our esteem for him. And he still attempts to carry on a deception, which we have told him was long since detected.

17th. Dined at Judge Greenleaf's, with Pickman and Thompson. Two Miss Daltons were there, and Miss Deblois, a young lady whose brother is paying his addresses to the eldest Miss Dalton. Miss Deblois has been much celebrated as a beauty; and she may still be called very



handsome, though she be as much as twenty-seven. She is sociable and agreeable, though she is not yet wholly destitute of that kind of vanity which is so naturally the companion of beauty. She puckers her mouth a little, and contracts her eye-lids a little, to look very pretty; and is not wholly unsuccessful. The Miss Daltons, as usual, talk'd more about themselves and the family than any thing else. The eldest is said to be blest with a very amiable disposition, and as for Polly, Miss Deblois said she made her laugh yesterday beyond measure, and it is well she has the talent of exciting laughter in others; for unless her countenance very much belies her she is seldom guilty of such a trick herself. Judge Greenleaf's daughters are always so much addicted to silence that, although I have been in company with them a number of times, I know not what opinion to form of them. In the afternoon, I took a long walk with Thompson and Putnam. The weather was very dull and disagreeable. Thompson stopp'd at Mrs. Atkins's. I pass'd the evening with Putnam, at his lodgings.

18th. Mr. McKeen<sup>1</sup> of Beverley preached at Mr. Carey's this day. I attended to hear him. His discourses were, though sensible, calculated to please the generality of the audience; I did not like them so well as those of Mr. Barnard the last Sunday. After meeting, Pickman called upon me, and I went up with him to see Mr. Jackson, where we drank tea and pass'd the evening. Mr. McKeen and Mr. Farnham were there, but went away soon after tea. Miss Wendell was likewise with Mrs. Jackson. She is not handsome, but is said to be very amiable. A little after nine I came away; Pickman still remaining there.

19th. Began upon the second book of Hawkins. The first treats of all offences against the public; and this of the punishments to which they are liable. I walk'd with Thompson in the evening; we called at Mrs. Hooper's, and pass'd an hour there, after which we went to Mr. Carter's. Miss Polly goes to Boston to-morrow.

20th. Mr. Parsons had the frame of his house raised, and was consequently very busy. Walk'd with Pickman. We met Thompson, and all went to see Mr. N. Carter, who was lately married. His wife is not quite so stiff in her manners as she used to be, a year and an half ago; but she has already adopted other airs, and appears no less affected than formerly. *De gustibus non est disputandum*; There's no disputing about the choice of a wife. Nancy Cutts, Mrs. Carter's sister,

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Joseph McKeen (Dartmouth, 1774), born in Londonderry, N. H., October 15, 1757; a teacher in Londonderry; a soldier under General Sullivan; 1785-1802 pastor of the church in Beverly which the Rev. Joseph Willard left in 1781 to become President of Harvard University; first President of Bowdoin College, 1802-1807; died at Brunswick, Me., July 15, 1807. Dartmouth College General Catalogue; Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, p. 707; Appleton, *Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

appears much more agreeable; and upon the whole I think her the handsomest of the two. However, Mrs. Carter was abundantly complaisant, and we pass'd the evening tolerably.

21st. I walk'd with Pickman in the evening to Sawyer's, where we drank tea, and made it almost ten o'clock before we got home. I then went up with my flute to Stacey's lodgings, our general head quarters. About a quarter before twelve, Stacey, Thompson, Putnam, with a couple of young lads by the name of Greenough, and myself sallied forth upon a scheme of serenading. We paraded round the town till almost four in the morning. The weather, which was not very agreeable when we first set out, was growing worse continually. At length it began to rain smartly, upon which we all separated, and respectively retired.

22d. I was up before eight, and had not slept well even the short time I was in bed. I felt stiff and unfit for almost everything. I read but little at the office, and omitted one thing which for three weeks past has claimed my attention very constantly. The Club were at my lodgings this evening. Stacey however went away somewhat early, to meet some of his friends from Andover; and we were all too much fatigued by the last night's jaunt to be very sociable or gay. At nine we separated as usual.

23d. Continual north east winds have prevailed for a week past. This evening I past with Thompson at Captain Coombs's. We found Mr. Porter and Mr. Kellogg, two young parsons there.<sup>1</sup> The evening was tolerable, and something more. Fanny Jenkins was as easy, as good natured, as talkative as usual. Jenny Coombs<sup>2</sup> is sensible and clever. Her sister Polly, it is feared, is in a consumption—a disorder by which Captain Coombs has already lost two of his children. Poor, miserable beings we are! dependant for our happiness, not only

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Ambrose Porter (Dartmouth, 1784), who entered the ministry, and died at Landaff, N. H., November 1, 1832; and Elijah Kellogg (Dartmouth, 1785), studied for the ministry under Rev. John Murray, of Newburyport (pastor of Captain Coombs); pastor of a church in Portland, Me., in 1788; died March 9, 1842. See W. Willis, *Hist. of Portland*, pp. 647-648, 659-661.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Coombs, second child of William and Mary Coombs; born in Newburyport, Mass., January 22, 1764; married Ebenezer Greenleaf in December, 1796; united in 1799 with the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, of which Dr. Daniel Dana was pastor; extremely active in religious work, and is said to have brought one hundred converts into the church. For thirty years she was personally active in mission-work, and took the main responsibility of providing missionary laborers and funds for the Isles of Shoals, then a community of some six hundred fishermen. Mrs. Greenleaf took great interest in foreign missions and in the cause of temperance. Her correspondence with philanthropists and clergymen was extensive. Her husband died in 1834, aged seventy years. She herself lived to be more than eighty-seven years of age. She left two children to survive her departure, one of whom was the Rev. William Coombs Greenleaf, of Springfield, Ill. Her daughter published her memoirs. Manuscript notes of Rev. Horace C. Hovey, D.D., of Newburyport.

upon our own conduct, but equally upon the caprices of fortune and the casual occurrences of a day. What must be the feelings of a parent, who, after rearing a numerous family of promising children, just as they are entering upon the stage of life, and when he begins to reap the rewards for his pains in educating them by being witness to their usefulness in the world, when he fondly hopes to leave them in the enjoyment of prosperous circumstances, to see them drooping and dying under the operation of a long, lingering disease, in which the terrors of death are increased by its slow and gradual approaches. Yet, this is the situation of many parents. And if the causes of misery are thus distributed, as well to the virtuous and the good as to the abandoned and unprincipled, what is the lot we have to expect in the world? I look forward with terror; and by so much the more, as the total exemption from any great evils hitherto leads me to fear that the greatest are laid up in store for me.

24th. Pickman went to Salem this morning. In the evening I took a long walk with Thompson, down towards Newbury Bridge,<sup>1</sup> in hopes of meeting Mr. Andrews; we were, however, unsuccessful. When we returned, I stop'd and past an hour with Putnam. He told me they had received a letter at Mr. Bradbury's from Andrews, informing them that his health would necessarily prevent him from coming to-morrow, but that he will send somebody, if he can, to supply his place.

25th. Mr. Webber preach'd here for Mr. Andrews; and I was much pleased with his discourses. They were quite argumentative; and his manner of reasoning was such as shewed him to be an acute metaphysician. He has always had a peculiar attachment to mathematical studies, and has acquired great knowledge in that branch of science, which has at the same time habituated him to a degree of precision in his reasoning which few people possess. After meeting this afternoon Putnam called at my room, and urged me to go to Mr. Spring's, where, it seems, they were not contented with two services, but were going upon a third. Putnam went, I believe, rather from the motive of seeing certain young ladies there than from an excess of piety. But as I wished to write a letter to W. Cranch, and as Mr. Parsons will go for Boston early to-morrow morning, I declined going with Putnam. After writing my letter I went and took a long walk quite alone, the weather being very fine, and as I return'd I stopp'd an hour at Mrs. Hooper's. Thompson came in soon after me. We walk'd again, and as we were passing before Mr. Frazier's door, the young ladies were standing there. We stopp'd and went in. Mr. and Mrs. Frazier re-

<sup>1</sup> Newbury or Parker River Bridge, with its nine piers and eight wooden arches, dating from 1768 though rebuilt in 1784, was four miles from Newburyport on the road to Boston. "Ould Newbury," pp. 530-539. No bridge had as yet been built across the Merrimac.

turn'd home a few minutes after, with Miss Phillips of Boston, a lady whom I saw at Hingham last fall, who has play'd the coquette, for eight or ten years past, with a number of gentlemen, but who has now a prospect of being married shortly. We soon came away; Thompson pass'd an hour at my lodgings.

26th. In the afternoon, I took a walk with Thompson to see Little. He has the small pox full upon him at this time. We returned, and I pass'd the evening at Mrs. Emery's. Judge Greenleaf's daughters and Miss Smith and Miss Wendell were there. The evening was not agreeable; there was too much ceremony and too little sociability. We conducted the ladies home, and retired.

27th. Mr. Jackson sent one of his sons to inform me that he heard last evening, at Beverly, that Callahan had arrived in Boston. The report I find is all over the town; and I have received the congratulations of almost all my acquaintance here. This evening, by means of an accident which was contrived in the morning, a number of gentlemen and ladies happened to meet at Mr. Brown's house, where we danced till about twelve o'clock. The weather was rather too warm; otherwise the party was agreeable. We often changed partners. And, as there were several more ladies than gentlemen, one or two of the young misses thought they were not sufficiently noticed, and so much mistook the intrinsic value and importance of their resentment as to display it in a manner which raised an involuntary smile, — involuntary, I say, because no one surely could willingly smile at the resentment of a lady. I escorted Miss Newell home; and then retired likewise myself.

28th. Election Day. And there is not a poor devil who has lost his election in the Commonwealth that feels half so much vexed and disappointed as I do. After enjoying the satisfaction of supposing my friends all arrived safe, I find this day that the report was without any foundation; that Callahan has not arrived, and has not even been spoken with, as has been said. I walk'd in the evening with Stacey, and called afterwards for half an hour at Mrs. Hooper's.

29th. Club at Thompson's this evening. Putnam inform'd us, he must leave us at a quarter before nine. I told him he must make no appointments for Thursday evenings. It was no appointment, he said; but he was under an indispensable obligation to write a letter this evening: accordingly he left us. At nine we likewise came away. I took a walk with Stacey in High Street, with the expectation of meeting Putnam; nor were we disappointed. He was walking home with the young ladies that he is generally most attentive to. After we had ascertained the matter sufficiently, we continued a walk, and I came home at about ten. I found a bundle for me which Mr. Carter brought from Boston, but there was no letter with it.

30th. I called this morning at Mr. Bradbury's office, and affronted Putnam by rallying him upon his deception last night. In the afternoon I walked with Thompson; we overtook Mr. J. Tracy and his lady, and accompanied them. As we were passing by Mrs. Atkins's, she arrived with her son from Boston. We stopp'd there a few minutes. Genl. Lincoln is Lieutt. Governor, &c. We spent the remainder of the evening at Mr. Carter's with the old gentleman, as none of the young folks were at home.

31st. Finished this forenoon with Hawkins. Dined at Mr. N. Carter's. As did Mr. Faruham and Thompson; called at the office in the afternoon, but did nothing. Walk'd with Thompson. Went in to Mrs. Hooper's, and drank tea there. Miss Emery was with her. I soon came out and left Thompson there. I took a solitary walk of two or three miles into Newbury; was surprised by the rain, and quite sprinkled before I got home. We have had a great deal of rain this season, but very little warm weather. Fruits rather backward.

#### Sunday, June 1st, 1788.

Mr. Allen preached for us this day, and I attended to hear him; his sermons are judicious and sensible, but his manner of delivering them is very disagreeable. In the evening I took a long walk with Doctor Kilham, and pass'd the remainder of it at home.

2d. Pickman returned this day from Salem, where he has been for ten days past. I began to read Wood's Institutes;<sup>1</sup> a book written upon a similar plan to that of Blackstone, but much inferior in the execution. I took a long walk this evening alone, musing and contemplating upon a subject which at this time engrosses all my attention.

3d. I walk'd with Thompson a mile or two in Newbury, the prospects on that road are delightful, and I am more pleased with that walk than with any other near this town. We went to Judge Greenleaf's. Mrs. Hodge and Mrs. Parsons were there; we past the evening as usual at that house, the Judge was very sensible and sociable; Mrs. Greenleaf was very agreeable, and all the daughters sat like just so many young misses whose mamma had told them that little girls must be seen and not heard. The Judge to strangers appears to be quite a soft and complacent man; but his family regulations are rather despotic; this circumstance takes off much of the pleasure of visiting there, which would otherwise be great; for his conversation and that of his lady are quite entertaining. She asked me if I had not been greatly disappointed last week; I told her I had, and that it had been a subject of much vexation to me. The Judge said it was well, he always wished

<sup>1</sup> The Institutes of the Laws of England, by Thomas Wood, had been in use for nearly seventy years; 1st edition, 1720.

that his young friends might meet with disappointments and misfortunes, and the greater the better, if they were not such as to debilitate the mind; it was best to be enured to misfortunes in early life; sooner or later they would come; and it was much best to be prepared for them by experience. Thompson came home, and supp'd with me.

4th. Walk'd into Newbury in the evening with Thompson, and we returned through Joppé,<sup>1</sup> by a different route from that which I usually come. We past an hour at Mrs. Emery's. Her daughter is very amiable, though not handsome. She entertained us some time by playing upon the harpsichord. Mr. J. Greenleaf was there; it is reported that he is paying his addresses there. The dispositions of the persons are not sufficiently congenial to render either of them happy, and I should therefore wish that this report, like most others of the same nature, may prove an idle surmise without any foundation. . . .

6th. . . . In the evening I was walking with Thompson; as we were passing before Mr. J. Tracy's, he invited us in. We pass'd the evening there: it was club night, and there were eight or ten such smokers that we were almost suffocated. The evening, however, was agreeable; and after supper I completed my walk before I returned home.

7th. Mr. Parsons came home from Boston this evening, where he has been attending at the General Court; but he brought no news for me. I went with Pickman up to Sawyer's tavern, and drank tea there. This walk is very agreeable and employs the evening well.

8th. Mr. Webster<sup>2</sup> from Salisbury preached for us this day; a venerable old gentleman who has been subject to many misfortunes, and whose countenance is expressive of the sensibility which has so often been wounded. I took a long walk in the evening with Stacey; a young fellow who has been very imprudent, but whose disposition is, I believe, very good.

9th. Mr. Parsons had so much information to give every one who came into the office this day that we could not attend much to the regular course of our reading. I took a long, lonely walk in the evening, as I often do at present, and I find the practice advantageous both to my health and spirits.

10th. Stroll'd a mile or two with Pickman; he has the appearance of a true and faithful lover, and acknowledges that he takes but very little satisfaction in this town. He proposes spending but a few weeks

<sup>1</sup> The present-day "Joppa," then, as now, a fishing hamlet on the river-bank below Newburyport. "Ould Newbury," pp. 218, 219.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Samuel Webster (H. C. 1737), born at Bradford in August, 1718; pastor of the West Parish in Salisbury for nearly fifty-five years (1741-1796); died July 18, 1796; had suffered much from the loss of many children. See Funeral Sermon by the Rev. Thomas Cary.

more here, and then to open an office in Salem. As I came home I stopp'd and past an hour at Mrs. Hooper's.

11th. I walk'd this evening with Stacey. The weather was very beautiful, and we proposed to form a party for a serenade, as soon as may be convenient.

12th. Townsend arrived in town this forenoon. I called at Mrs. Hooper's to see him immediately after dinner; he looks better than he was when he left this town, but his situation still appears to me to be critical. Club met at Pickman's. Putnam appeared rather sober. Townsend was obliged to retire just before sunset. Farnham too was not in the highest spirits, for Mr. Prout marries Miss S. Jenkins this evening. At nine we separated, and at ten met again at my room. We sallied out at about eleven, and serenaded the ladies in town till between three and four in the morning.

13th. Townsend and one or two more of my friends dined with me this day. He went in the afternoon to see Mrs. Emery, and found there a Miss Taylor who came there last evening from Boston; she was going to Exeter, and as Townsend was going to take a ride, he proposed to go in company with her as far as the ferry. This Miss Taylor is handsome and remarkably sociable; and although she has been in a declining state of health for more than a year past, and came very lately from Halifax to Boston merely to recruit her strength, yet by some unaccountable deception she looks in the finest bloom of health. It seems indeed to be an uncommon felicity attending many young ladies at this day, that they can enjoy all the benefits of ill health without being much afflicted with its cruel pains. We accompanied the lady to Amesbury; and after seeing her into the boat took our leave. Returning home, we stopp'd and drank tea with Mrs. Atkins. Mrs. Bass and Mr. Atkins had just arrived from Dunstable. I pass'd the evening with Townsend at Mrs. Hooper's; but came home quite early, as I was somewhat fatigued by the last night's expedition.

14th. Finished reading in Wood's Institutes; a book which has been rendered almost useless by the publication of Blackstone's Commentaries. Dined with Mr. Parsons, took a long walk in the afternoon, and pass'd the evening with Townsend at Mrs. Hooper's. Pickman went to Salem this morning.

15th. Mr. Allen preach'd, and as usual delivered a good sermon in a very bad manner. After meeting, I went up to Mr. J. Tracy's. I found Townsend there, and rode a few miles with him. We return'd and drank tea at Mrs. Atkins's. Townsend's health not permitting him to be out after sunset, we came home early, and I was with him all the evening.

16th. Townsend intended to have set away this morning, to go to Medfield; but the weather was so chilly and disagreeable that he

thought it would be best to wait another day. Thompson and I dined and pass'd a great part of the day with him. I was again disappointed upon the arrival of the stage, as I have been so often heretofore, by hearing no news from Boston. I began upon Bacon's Pleas and Pleadings; a subject which demands great attention.

17th. Townsend left town this morning, but as the wind soon got easterly, I imagine he did not go far. Mr. Parsons went over to Ipswich, where the Supreme Court are this week in session. In the beginning of the evening the weather cleared up, and I took a long, solitary walk. I had turn'd round, and was coming home when I heard a horse coming upon full gallop, and somebody called me by name. I stopped and found it was Stacey, who congratulated me upon my father's arrival. He came from Ipswich on purpose to give me the information. Just as I had pass'd by Mr. Tracy's, one of his servants gave me a letter, with a request that I would go down to his house. I went accordingly, and found Mr. Hichborn there; the letter was from Mr. Thaxter, and contained the same joyful tidings that Stacey had brought me. It seems Judge Sullivan left Boston this day at about twelve o'clock; and when he came away Callahan was coming up the harbour; after passing an hour at Mr. Tracy's I came home with a light heart, but not wholly without fears that this information, like that of a similar nature which has been given me three or four times within a month past, should be founded upon a mistake of one vessel for another.

18th. I went to the office in the forenoon, but found myself incapacitated to do any thing, and therefore lost the morning in conversation. Just before two I went with trembling hope to the post office; and as I went into the door my heart almost failed me, but I was soon made happy by a letter from my brother Tom, which confirms the arrival of my parents. In the afternoon, I did nothing more than prepare to go to Boston in the stage to-morrow morning. I called in the evening at Mrs. Hooper's and at Mr. Carter's, to take their commands.

19th. The stage was full from Portsmouth, and consequently I could not obtain a seat. I could not think of waiting till Saturday with a chance of being again disappointed, so I sent forward my little trunk by the stage, and engaged a horse; at about ten in the forenoon I left town and arrived at Ipswich just before noon. The Supreme Court are sitting there, and I went to the Court house, where I saw a number of my friends; among others my classmate Kendall,<sup>1</sup> who is going to the

<sup>1</sup> " Ephraim Kendall of Ipswich, Essex Co., was twenty the 23th of last Novr. There is something peculiar in this character. He is said to be one of the hardest students and one of the poorest scholars in the class. His natural abilities are so small that they can scarcely be improved even by cultivation. He appears to be totally destitute of literary judgment at least; for I have heard him declaim a



Ohio in a short time. I found likewise at Ipswich a number of the young ladies from Newbury-Port, who to be sure were gallanted by their fathers. It was near four o'clock when I left Ipswich; and Pickman at the same time returned to Salem. It was so late when we got there that I could not think of reaching Boston this night, and I therefore accepted of Pickman's invitation to lodge in town. He went with me to Mr. Derby's;<sup>1</sup> but the young ladies were not at home, so that I had not the pleasure of being introduced to his Dulcinea. Learned, who is upon the study of physic in this town, pass'd the evening with us.

20th. I was up early in the morning, and mounted my horse at about seven. It was ten when I got into Boston. I went to Mr. Smith's, and found my father was gone to Braintree, but my mamma was at the Governor's. I immediately went there and enjoy'd all the satisfaction that can arise from the meeting so near and dear a friend after a long absence.<sup>2</sup> We dined at Deacon Storer's. Old Mrs. Edwards was there (Vol. 2. p. 27)<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Waterhouse, &c. Between five and

piece in very plain English, which I was convinced he did not understand. At recitations he was never distinguished for taking the meaning of an author, and in short all his public exercises have been inferior to the common run. Yet he is possess'd of extreme sensibility, and his temper is very irascible. His person is handsome, but there is an unmeaning stare in his eye, which is too expressive of the vacancy in his mind. It would require a very metaphysical genius to prove this to be a good or a bad character; but it is not certainly one which any person would wish to possess." Manuscript diary of J. Q. Adams, May 3, 1787. Ephraim Kendall, according to J. L. Sibley's manuscript memorandum, was born in Ipswich November 28, 1765; died there August 15, 1846.

<sup>1</sup> Elias H. Derby, one of the richest merchants in Salem, a pioneer in the establishment of the East India trade (see *supra*, p. 102).

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of one brief period of a little over three months, August 2 to November 13, 1779,—during which, at Braintree and in Boston, he was engrossed with the work of the Convention of that year, and his draft of the Constitution of Massachusetts,—John Adams had at this time been ten years absent from home. First sailing from Boston bay February 13, 1778, he got back there June 17, 1788. Mrs. Adams had joined him in London in July, 1784. In May, 1785, J. Q. Adams had left his family at Auteuil, France, returning to America. Their present separation had, therefore, been a little over three years. The impression made on John Adams by the changes which had taken place in Massachusetts during this long absence is interesting; and, in view of the recent unrest and uprisings, hardly what would have been expected. He wrote: "The increase of population is wonderful. The plenty of provisions of all kinds amazing, and cheap in proportion to their abundance and the scarcity of money, which is certainly very great. The agriculture, fisheries, manufactures and commerce of the country are very well, much better than I expected to find them. I cannot say so much of our politics. . . . I regret the loss of the book-shops, and the society of the few men of letters that I knew in London; in all other respects I am much better accommodated here." To Thomas Brand-Hollis, December 8, 1788. Works, vol. ix. pp. 557, 558.

<sup>3</sup> J. Q. Adams first met Mrs. Edwards at Mrs. Quincy's in Braintree. He then

six we sat out for Braintree. As I was already somewhat fatigued, my cousin Cranch gave me up his seat in the chaise with my mamma, and took my horse. At about eight we got to Mr. Cranch's, and there my satisfaction and pleasures were again renew'd at finding my father in good health, and here I must stop for the present.

21st. The weather was very warm. I went down to my uncle Quincy's,<sup>1</sup> and from thence on the shore. One lighter arrived in the afternoon with part of the goods and furniture, and the other is expected to-morrow.

22d. Parson Wibird preached in his usual dull, inanimated strain, of late indeed he has lost, it is said, his only claim to merit by declining wholly to change with the neighbouring ministers. After meeting this evening, I went with W. Cranch down to Mrs. Quincy's and drank tea. Mrs. Quincy of Boston was there, and very agreeable.<sup>2</sup> I had never been in company with her before.

23d. A second lighter came up this day with things from the ship. We were very busy in unpacking during the whole day. A bed was set up in the house, in which I lodg'd, but we have done sufficient to make a great deal of work before we get at rights; there is yet a great deal to be done to the house. When I came from Newbury-Port, I intended to have studied as much here as I should have done there, but I begin to suspect that I shall find it utterly impossible. At least, I have given up all thoughts of doing any thing in that way for the present.

24th. This day we got so far in order as to make a home of the house. I dined at my uncle Cranch's. The remainder of the packages are expected to-morrow, but those that are already here are not all unpack'd. Much damage was done on the voyage.

25th. This afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Shaw came in from Haverhill; they found us still in great disorder. We began this day to unpack the books;<sup>3</sup> though we have at present no room to stow them in properly. They were moist and somewhat mouldy, but not injured at all.

26th. We all dined at Mr. Cranch's. Charles came from Cambridge to spend a day or two with us. I continued this whole day quite industriously to unpack and place the books, yet did not get half

spoke of her as "an antiquated coquet," adding that "if her face did not give the lie to her behaviour I should suppose her now to be seventeen rather than seventy."

<sup>1</sup> Norton Quincy. The house at Mount Wollaston, built by Colonel John Quincy, from which J. Q. Adams had embarked for Europe with his father, February 13, 1778.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Josiah Quincy, Jr., daughter of William Phillips. See Quincy's Josiah Quincy, pp. 20-23, 35, 36.

<sup>3</sup> The collection subsequently given by John Adams to the town of Quincy, in connection with the Adams Academy. Now (1902) in the Boston Public Library building.

through with the business. There are a great many books which I wish very much to peruse; but I have not the time at present, and must certainly for some years be separated from them.

27th. The day was spent like the preceding ones. There was some company here in the afternoon. I give as much of the little leisure time I have as I can conveniently to some lectures upon History and general Policy, a new publication of Dr. Priestley, whose literary powers may be truly called athletic. There are several other late performances which I am desirous of reading, but more particularly Mr. Gibbon's continuation of his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, which is not, however, yet completed.<sup>1</sup>

28th. Mrs. Welch and Betsey Smith came from Boston this morning; we all went to Weymouth and dined at Doctor Tufts's. In the afternoon I went over to Mr. Norton's house,<sup>2</sup> where in my infancy I have spent many days which I scarcely remember even as a distant dream; but before this day I had not been in the house these nine years. As I returned from Weymouth I was overtaken by the rain, and stop'd at Mr. Cranch's; but it did not abate, and I went home in the midst of it.

29th. I attended at meeting and heard Mr. Wibird. The weather was rather dull and somewhat sultry. I am still undetermined whether to return this week to Newbury-Port, or wait till after Commencement. I believe, however, I shall determine upon the latter.

30th. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw return'd to Haverhill this morning; and this day I finished unpacking the books, which, however, must continue for some time in great disorder.

Tuesday, July 1st, 1788.

It was nine o'clock before I could get away from Braintree this morning, and I arrived at the Colleges just before the exhibition began. A Latin Oration was spoken by Kirkland, and was very well. The Forensic between Palmer<sup>3</sup> and Waterman was tolerable, but I forget the subject. The English Dialogue between Thacher and Gray was well spoken, but rather stiff. The Greek Dialogue between the youngest Sullivan and my brother Tom was quite short, and not the worse for that. The English Oration was by Blake; the subject agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> The three final volumes of the "Decline and Fall" were published on Gibbon's fifty-first birthday, April 27, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> The parsonage at Weymouth, formerly the home of his grandfather, Rev. William Smith, stood immediately below the present East Weymouth station of the Old Colony division of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Palmer (H. C. 1789), son of Rev. Joseph Palmer, of Norton, Mass.; born October 3, 1766; pastor at Needham, 1792-1821; member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 343-345. Waterman died in 1843 in an almshouse. See S. Willard, *Memories*, vol. i. pp. 274, 275.

It was in my opinion very flimsy and superficial; but as we came out I heard a young fellow, who had something of the appearance of a would-be fop, exclaim "upon my soul Blake has given us one of the *genteel*est Orations I ever heard." In former days, gentility with respect to composition consisted in bad spelling and bad grammar; under which sense the description would not be wholly unjust. But what the expression means at this day I know not; and therefore its singularity was what I chiefly remarked. I was agreeably surprised to meet my friend Thompson here; but saw him only for a few minutes. I went down and dined at Judge Dana's. Mr. Ben. Ellery<sup>1</sup> was there,—an uncle to Mrs. Dana, a rich old gentleman and somewhat singular in his character. In the afternoon I called at Mr. Wigglesworth's, and past an hour agreeably with them. I went to Mr. Gannett's; and at about seven in the evening called at the President's. He was not at home, and as I knew not what to do with myself for the remainder of the evening I thought I might as well go home. I immediately went to Bradish's,<sup>2</sup> mounted my horse, and, after nine, arrived safe in Braintree, somewhat fatigued with my day's work, but well satisfied with my jaunt.

2d. The weather was extremely warm. I amused myself part of the day in reading, and part in shooting. The cherry trees, which are quite full at present, are so inviting to the birds that there is very good sport with little trouble.

3d. Between nine and ten I went with my father from Braintree; we got into Cambridge at about twelve. After stopping a few minutes at College, we first went down and called upon Judge Trowbridge.<sup>3</sup> He is very old, and although active for his years, yet the depredations of time are conspicuous upon him. We dined at Mr. Dana's. Mr. and Mrs. Channing from Rhode Island were there; they are agreeable.<sup>4</sup> In the afternoon we first called at the President's, and drank tea there; from thence we went to Mr. Gerry's<sup>5</sup> and past the evening. We

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Ellery, brother of William Ellery, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. He married the widow of Colonel John Vassall, of Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Bradish's was the tavern of Ebenezer Bradish, also known as the Blue Anchor Tavern, on the westerly side of Brighton, now Boylston, Street.

<sup>3</sup> Judge Edmund Trowbridge (H. C. 1728), a loyalist, born in Newton in 1709; Attorney-General of the Province in 1749; member of the Council 1764 and 1766; appointed Associate Justice of the Superior Court in 1767; resigned in 1775; died in Cambridge April 2, 1793. He lived on Mount Auburn Street, and was an uncle of Francis Dana, to whom he left most of his property. W. T. Davis, *Hist. of the Judiciary of Massachusetts*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. and Mrs. William Channing, parents of William Ellery Channing. Mrs. Channing was Lucy Ellery, a daughter of William Ellery, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and sister of Mrs. Francis Dana.

<sup>5</sup> Elbridge Gerry lived in what was afterwards James Russell Lowell's house, "Elmwood."

found Mrs. Warren there, and were in the midst of antifederalism, but quite in good humour. My father had promised to take a lodging at Judge Dana's; but at Mr. Gerry's invitation I past the night at his house.

4th. We left Cambridge by nine o'clock, and got into Boston in the midst of the bustle. We went immediately to Brackett's tavern;<sup>1</sup> after dressing I walk'd out, and met with a number of my very good friends. At about eleven we went to the old South meeting house, and heard Mr. Otis<sup>2</sup> deliver an Oration, the composition and the delivery were much superior even to my expectations, which were somewhat sanguine. It was greatly superior, in my opinion, to that which he delivered when he took his second degree; the only public performance that I had heard before from him. I saw my good friend Bridge<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brackett's tavern (Cromwell's Head) was on the northern side of School Street, not far from the corner of what is now Washington Street. See Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison Gray Otis (H. C. 1783) delivered the annual oration at the request of the town authorities.

<sup>3</sup> "James Bridge of Pownalborough in the Province of Maine was twenty-one the 23d of last September. As a scholar and as a gentleman, he is inferior to no one in the class, and with no one have I contracted since I entered the university, so great a degree of intimacy. His natural abilities are very good and they have been greatly improved by study. His passions are strong, but in general he keeps them well under command. His genius is metaphysical, rather than rhetorical; in reasoning with him we are rather convinced by the force of his argument, than seduced by the brilliancy of his imagination. He is possessed of much benevolence, and ambition occupies a large share of his mind; he does not endeavour to conceal this, but freely owns his expectations; which are so sanguine that I somewhat fear he will not entirely realize them all. His advantages, however, will be peculiar, and it is, I think, very probable that he will one day be eminent in the political line. Law will be his study; and I have long hoped that we should be together in one office, but many difficulties attend the scheme, and I fear much that it will not take place. My friendship for this gentleman and three or four more of my classmates saddens very much the anticipation of commencement, when we must part, perhaps forever." J. Q. Adams, manuscript diary, March 2, 1787. Six months before, on September 23, 1786, he wrote: "Pass'd the evening at Bridge's chamber. We had considerable conversation, as we frequently have, concerning our future prospects. He is ambitious, and intends to engage in politics. He expects more happiness from it than he will ever realize, I believe; but he is form'd for a political life, and it is probabl[e will] show to advantage in that line."

Bridge was one of J. Q. Adams's favorite classmates, and the following extracts from the manuscript diary for October 4 to 6, 1786, give a pleasing and typical view of their daily intercourse. "We had this morning a forensic given out, to be read next week on the question whether the diversities in national characters arise chiefly from physical causes. I am to support the affirmative, and think upon the whole it is the best side of the question. . . . I made tea for the club. Bridge had a small dispute with me upon the nature of physical causes. He thought the effects produced by sensual appetites could not be attributed to physical causes. I was of opinion that they must be. We appealed

for a few minutes only; he told me he expected to be at Newbury-Port in about three weeks from this. I likewise met with Townsend

to Mr. Burr, and his sentiments confirm'd mine. . . . I have had several times little contests with Bridge upon the subject of our forensic. He is to support the negative side of the question, and will write very ingeniously. He is the only person in the class who is fond of discussing questions of this kind in conversation. We frequently dispute, and it always increases my acquaintance with the subject. The objections he raises are commonly weighty, and they lead me to look further than I should otherwise do into the point in debate, and our difference of opinion is attended with no bad effects, as all acrimony and ill humour is excluded from our conversations."

On his return from college to his home in Pownalborough, Me., he at once plunged into politics. "Will you laugh," he wrote, May 4, 1788, "if I tell you I rode sixty miles (the bad roads made it a hundred) to influence our late election in favour of Federalists in this county? Will you laugh if I tell you I made my father qualify me to vote for Gov., Lt. Gov., & Senator, that I attended our town meeting in Pownalborough, that I voted myself and solicited the votes of others, that I publicly harangued the audience, &c. This was not the half of my zeal."

At the same time he was studying law under the following conditions, outlined in a letter dated Pownalboro', September 28, 1787: "I am nominally studying law with Mr. Gardiner, really with myself. Soon after I had got home I made him a visit, and laid open my plan to him, viz., of putting myself under his direction, and of studying at home (we live two miles apart) he approved it, gave me the first vol. of Blackstones Commentaries to read, and said he would act the part of a friend and neighbour towards me. This is the chief that has passed between us on the subject of Law. I purchased a set of Blackstone soon after and now dont even use his books. About once a fortnight I spend an afternoon in the family, in the common mode of chit-chat, cards, back-gammon, &c. This is the only kind of instruction I am here acquainted with."

Even in 1787 this form of preparation for the legal profession did not secure satisfactory results, and the following autumn Bridge came to Newburyport as a law student of Theophilus Parsons and roommate of J. Q. Adams. He began professional life at Augusta, Me., assuming the practice of General William Lithgow, who then retired. He became agent and attorney for the proprietors of the Kennebec purchase, having a lucrative collecting business. He did not become distinguished in politics. He was a representative from his town to the Legislature in 1799, on the Governor's Council in 1818, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1819, and a commissioner under the Act of Separation of 1820. Owing to ill health, he retired from the bar in 1812, leaving court business to his junior partner. For twenty years from 1814, he was president of the Augusta Bank; he died in 1834. J. Q. Adams's regard for this early friend is shown by an entry in the diary of March 3, 1828, in a discussion with Clay as to the appointment of agents to defend the northeastern boundary of the United States before the arbitrators appointed under the treaty with England. "I told Mr. Clay, that since I had last seen him, a person whom I believed to be the very best man in the State for the office had been recommended to me by Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and by the late Senator, Mr. James Lloyd, and, through them, by Mr. Reuel Williams [partner of James Bridge] of Maine. I meant James Bridge, of Augusta, one of my oldest and, in early life, most intimate friends. I had indeed almost lost sight of him for near forty years, but know that by his talents, his information, and the course of his life he must be peculiarly fitted for this particular service; and if he would accept the place, there was not an individual in the State in whose able and faithful per-

as I was going out of the church; and we went together to the Old Brick, to hear General Hull's <sup>1</sup> Oration to the Cincinnati. It appeared to me rather indifferent; and the effect upon me was the greater from the involuntary comparison with that which I had just heard. However, I found afterwards there were many persons who thought, or pretended to think, this Oration better, both in matter and manner, than the other, and they have certainly a right to enjoy their opinions. I dined at Deacon Storer's, Parson Wibird was there and some other company. In the afternoon I walk'd up on the common to see the military parade, which was not however so spirited as at the last anniversary; but, in the middle of the afternoon, the news arrived that Virginia had acceded to the Federal Constitution, and immediately the bells were set to ringing and the guns to firing again, without any mercy, and continued all the remainder of the afternoon. In the evening a number of young fellows paraded round the streets, with candles lighted in their hands and a drum before them, not much to their own credit or to the honour of the day; but they did no damage. I spent part of the evening with several of my classmates; but not finding Bridge, I returned early, and took my lodging at Brackett's.

5th. We called this morning at Dr. Welch's, and at Mr. Guild's; but left town at about ten o'clock. It was almost one when we got to Braintree. I amused myself as I could in the afternoon. Mrs. Warren, with her son Harry stop'd here this night on their way to Plymouth, to which place General Warren has removed back, after living about eight years at Milton. He was formerly a very popular man, but of late years he has thought himself neglected by the people. His mind has been soured, and he became discontented and querulous. He has been charged with using his influence in favour of tender acts and paper money; and it has even been very confidently asserted that he secretly favoured the insurrections and rebellion of the winter before last. Whether his conduct has been misrepresented or not, is a point that must for the present remain undetermined. But he has certainly given some reason for suspicion by his imprudence; and when in a time of rebellion a man openly censures the conduct in general, and almost every individual act, of an administration, an impartial public will always judge that such a man cannot be greatly opposed to a party who are attacking the same measures. Mrs. Warren, however, positively declared there was no truth in those allegations, and was very

formance of its duties I should place more implicit confidence." The reasons why the nomination was not made are given in the *Memoirs*, vol. vii. pp. 460, 483, 504, 529. See J. W. North, *Hist. of Augusta*, pp. 507-510, with portrait; also *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi.

<sup>1</sup> General William Hull (Yale College, 1772) had an honorable record in the War of the Revolution and in Shays's Rebellion; but is chiefly remembered for the unfortunate surrender of Detroit in 1812.

confident that they were nothing more than the suggestions of the General's enemies, whose malignity was unaccountable, but whose utmost spite and envy could not disturb his happiness.

For all the distant din this world can keep  
Rolls o'er his grotto and but soothes his sleep.

6th. The weather was rather disagreeable in the morning, and Mrs. Warren was disposed to stay and pass the Sunday with us, but her son was so anxious to get home that she finally determined to go; and they went away at about nine. I attended at meeting, and heard Parson Wibird dose over a couple of sermons. There is none of my time that I regret more than that I spend in hearing him. Were it not for the propriety of attending public worship abstracted from all considerations of improvement or entertainment, I should seldom enter within the walls of that house while he continues to slumber there.

7th. W. Cranch went to Boston this morning; and I suppose I shall have but very little of his company for the future, as he is to be fixed henceforth for some time to his office. I amused myself, as I have done for several days past, in diverse manners. In the evening my two brothers arrived from Cambridge, having obtained leave to be absent till Friday, when the scholars will all be dismiss'd.

8th. I past the greater part of the day in gunning with my brothers. The weather was, as it has been for several days past, extremely warm, and the fruits of the earth at present greatly require heat.

9th. Doctor Leonard came here in the morning. This gentleman came as a passenger with Callahan. He underwent a violent prosecution, two or three years ago, in England for endeavouring to come to America with some models of manufacturing machines; but, after being two years in prison, he was released and immediately resumed his original intentions, but he is now come over without his models; and he rather purposes at present to practice in his original profession as a physician and surgeon. I bath'd in the sea this afternoon; the first time I have done so this summer; indeed it is rather troublesome here, on account of insects which are almost innumerable.

10th. George Warren came over from Milton this forenoon, and paid us a visit. He opened an office in Milton last winter, and has done as much business as a lawyer generally does for the first six months after he begins; but the prospects are far from being encouraging. When I am in spirits this circumstance strikes me only as an incentive to more strenuous exertions; and at such times I feel such a resolution to overcome difficulties, that I seem already in a fair way of acquiring reputation and property. My father says that when he was a student, he heard an old lawyer tell the present Judge Sewall, who was then a student likewise, "that he never knew a lawyer that studied who did



/ not grow rich." The observation made an impression, and his own experience has confirmed it.

11th. This day completes my twenty-first year. It emancipates me from the yoke of paternal authority, which I never felt, and places me upon my own feet, which have not strength enough to support me. I continue therefore still in a state of dependence. One third of the period of my professional studies has also now elapsed; and two years more will settle me, should life and health continue, in a situation where all my expectations are to center. I feel sometimes a strong desire to know what my circumstances will be in seven years from this; but, I must acknowledge, I believe my happiness would rather be injured than improved by the information.<sup>1</sup>

12th. In the diverse amusements of reading, of shooting birds, and playing upon our flutes, we past the present day. The weather is, and has for a fortnight past been, such that fatiguing occupations cannot be attended to. I read very little, and that of a light kind which does not greatly engage the mind; and as for writing, I have so much abandoned it that I have not written three pages since I left Newbury-Port. My brothers are much in the same way.

13th. Weather still extremely warm. I heard Parson Wibird. Mr. Q. Thaxter was at meeting in the forenoon, and went and dined with us. In the afternoon Madam went down to my uncle Quincy's, and I drank tea with my brothers at my uncle Adams's. And we bath'd at the creek<sup>2</sup> in the evening.

14th. Ben Beale<sup>3</sup> came from Taunton this morning; he did not stop,

<sup>1</sup> On the date named, July 11, 1795, J. Q. Adams was at the Hague, representing the United States as Resident Minister. The entry in his diary for that day is but three lines in length, and mentions merely certain calls made by him and the programme of a play in the evening which he pronounced, as a performance, "very indifferent."

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently named Black's Creek, and still so called. Originally Quincy's Creek.

<sup>3</sup> "Benjamin Beale was eighteen the 6th of June last. His father was from Braintree, but he was born at Liverpool in England; he entered the class just before they commenced Sophomores. His disposition is amiable, and he is a good scholar; but the government of the university have so repeatedly taken notice of him at exhibitions, that it has given offence to many of the young gentlemen in the class, and they affect to despise his abilities, and to deny his scholarship. His talents have perhaps been rather overrated by the government, but I fear they are still more underrated in the class; and he is not the only person whose popularity with his fellow students has been greatly diminished by the favours of the government. Notwithstanding all the reports circulated by malice and envy, I believe him very deserving; he displays no vanity, either of his person, which is elegant, or of his genius, which has been flattered by distinction, and this, I think, is a sure mark of good sense. Commerce will probably be his profession; and from his general character, I think he has a good prospect of success. May he obtain it!" Diary, February 28, 1787. Beale died in Paris, France, in 1825.

but promised to come and see us ere long. When I came in from shooting, which still continues to be my sport and my occupation, I found a Parson West<sup>1</sup> here, an old gentleman, who was three years in college with my father, and at that time very intimate with him. He is very sociable and very sensible. He spent the day here, and passes the night likewise. He keeps late hours and entertained me with conversation upon language till between twelve and one o'clock. Doctor Leonard left us this morning, after having past almost a week with us; he appears to be a very clever, well disposed man, but possessing no great learning, nor even much information.

15th. Mr. West went away this morning. My father and my brother Charles went to Boston, whence they will proceed to-morrow to Cambridge. Beale came here this forenoon, and took a dinner with us. He is studying law with Mr. Barnes at Taunton, but spends much of his time at home. Mr. Wibird pass'd the afternoon and evening here. Dr. Tufts called here on his way to Boston, and my brother Tom went to Cambridge this afternoon; for my own part I preferred waiting till to-morrow morning. And I have finally determined to return here after Commencement, at least for a day or two.

16th. Commencement day, I mounted my horse somewhat early, and arrived at Cambridge by nine o'clock. The first salutation I received as I was going into the College yard was, "Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." It was a crazy man; but without any great share of enthusiasm, for that sentence was the only thing he said, and he repeated it every two or three minutes during the whole forenoon; and I could not help reflecting with pleasure upon the happy liberality of sentiment, which prevails so much that a man of this kind, so far from attracting the notice of the executive power, could not even draw a crowd around him. I saw my classmates in abundance; there were more than thirty of us here. At about eleven we went to the meeting house; and I got a seat in the foremost gallery, next to Townsend. The procession soon came on, and the President after making a prayer, and informing the audience it was the desire of the overseers and corporation that there might be no "clapping applause," called for the Salutatory Oration, which was spoken by Phillips, and

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Samuel West (H. C. 1754), born in Barnstable in 1730; pastor at Dartmouth (later New Bedford) 1760-1803; lived with his son at Tiverton till his death, September 24, 1807; a member of the Academy of Science of Boston and of Philadelphia; was called by the Rev. Dr. Lowell, of Boston, "one of the giants of his time." An ardent patriot during the Revolution, visiting the camp to encourage the soldiers, he was a member of the Massachusetts Convention of 1788; and, as a classmate and friend of Governor Hancock, was chosen to visit him and persuade him to leave his sick-room and offer his famous amendments in the Convention. W. J. Potter, *The First Congregational Society in New Bedford, Mass.*, pp. 33-50; *Memories of S. Willard*, vol. i. pp. 212-214.

was pretty well delivered. An English poem, on the prospects of America, by Dodge, was not without its merit, but would not bear comparison with that spoken last Commencement by Harris. The order in which the other performances came on was as follows :

A forensic disputation upon this question, — Whether the balance would be in favour of our existence were there no state but the present? By Sanders <sup>1</sup> and Tappan.

A Greek conference upon the evil effects of avarice and of prodigality upon society. By Gardner and Jackson.

A forensic disputation. Whether a republic is more secure of the continuance of its liberties, when the officers in the higher branches of government are elected for several years than when they are annually elected? By Gordon and Lincoln.

An English conference, — Whether a large emigration from Europe into the United States of America would upon the whole be for the real advantage of the States. By Adams 2d and Cabot.

An English Oration. By Abbot.

The syllogistics were omitted, and these performances were finished by two o'clock. I went and dined at Judge Dana's, and at about four returned to the meeting house. An English Oration was delivered by Mr. Ware upon the effects of religion upon civil government and society. It was an excellent oration, and, notwithstanding the President's caution in the morning, there was something like a clap, which proceeded chiefly, I imagine, from the students that were present. The President with his peculiar elegance of expression said, "I am sorry that the desires of the Corporation and Overseers should be infringed upon," and proceeded to give the degrees. There was a new ceremony, of giving a degree of bachelor in physic; two young fellows by the name of Hall and Fleet <sup>2</sup> received these diplomas, and even the President in giving them seemed to have the awkwardness of novelty about him. A valedictory Oration was spoken by Mr. Allyne,<sup>3</sup> and the President made a concluding prayer, which concluded the public ceremonies of the day. I forgot to observe that, after the forenoon

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Clarke Sanders was President of the University of Vermont 1800-1814; pastor at Medfield, Mass., 1815-1829.

<sup>2</sup> Neither of these first medical graduates from Harvard seems to have attained a position of distinction in the profession. John Fleet (H. C. 1785), belonging to the family of Fleet's Almanack and the Mother Goose Melodies, was a physician in Boston; died January 4, 1813. George Holmes Hall (H. C. 1781), born January 8, 1763, in Medford, was physician, apothecary and store-keeper in Brattleboro', Vt.; died there April 14, 1807. Vermont Hist. Gazetteer, vol. v. p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. John Allyn (H. C. 1785), born at Barnstable March 21, 1767; ordained at Duxbury December 8, 1788; a colleague settled June 7, 1826; died July 19, 1833; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. pp. 245-252; Justin Winsor, Hist. of Duxbury, pp. 88, 207-209.

performances were finished, the Governor<sup>1</sup> got up, addressed the President, who was likewise standing, by the title of "reverend and learned Sir," and made a long speech in which he blest his stars for being born in a land of Liberty and Science, &c. Some people thought his performance was equal to any in the course of the day; but opinions on that subject were divided. It was prepared before hand, though it bore ample testimony of the genius and learning which the young gentlemen had display'd.

"Wherein all prophets far out went he,  
Though former days produced a plenty,  
For any man, with half an eye,  
What stands before him can espy,  
But optics sharp it needs, I ween,  
To see what is not to be seen."<sup>2</sup>

To return. After we came out of the meeting house I stroll'd about for some time, greeting one friend and another as I met them. I went with Forbes and Little, and drank tea at Dr. Wigglesworth's. I returned to College, and spent the evening in diverse places. I finally found young Phillips, and took a supper with him at his chamber, where I found also a number of his classmates. I retired at about eleven o'clock, having enjoy'd the day very highly; but my spirits had been so much raised that I could get but little sleep.

17th. The young gentlemen who graduated yesterday were

Benjamin Abbot	Charles Jackson
Solomon Adams	Abner Lincoln
Thomas Adams	Henry Phelps
Thomas Bancroft	John Phillips
Oliver Barron	James Prescott
Stephen Baxter	Daniel Clarke Sanders
Joseph Brigham	William Sawyer
Joseph Cabot	Amos Tappan
George Caryl	John Dexter Treadwell
Edward Clarke	Charles Turner
Oliver Dodge	Nathan Underwood
James Gardner	Samuel West
Adam Gordon	Robert Wier.
William Hill	

<sup>1</sup> The class of 1787 had petitioned the corporation for a private Commencement, but their request was refused on the ground that it might serve as a precedent, and remove a stimulus to study. "Another reason, which Mr. Willard said, had weight, although the gentlemen did not choose to avow it publicly, was their fear of offending the future Governor by depriving him of that opportunity to show himself in splendor and magnificence." Manuscript diary, April 11, 1787. See Josiah Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard University*, vol. ii. pp. 182-207, for the very strained relations between Governor Hancock and the University.

<sup>2</sup> John Trumbull, *McFingal*, Canto i. lines 63-67.

Jacob Kimbal's name is inserted in the Theses and Catalogue, but he could not obtain his degree, being unable to pay his bills.

This morning Mr. Andrews called me at College before six o'clock, and we soon departed together towards Braintree, where we arrived at about nine. Mr. Andrews breakfasted with us, and then proceeded to Hingham. My spirits were so much exalted yesterday that a contrary effect seems this day to take place; the bow string by being too much distended cannot regain its usual position without an intermediate relaxation. The weather was sultry, and I felt much fatigued.

18th. Upon the warmest day we have had this summer I was obliged to go to Boston, upon a hard trotting horse with the sun blazing in my face all the way. I do not know that I ever suffered more from the heat. And when I got into Boston I was obliged to bustle about almost all the day. I had to call three times at Mr. Green's store before I could get the payment for a bill of exchange; which, I think, is a very irregular manner for a merchant to transact business. I got the money, however, in the afternoon. I dined at Mr. Dawes's, he was not at home himself; but Mrs. Dawes is a charming woman. She is handsome, but there is an amiable sweetness in her countenance and manners far more pleasing than the most perfect beauty could be without it. W. Cranch accompanied me in all my excursions. We went together on the top of Beacon hill, and greatly enjoyed the fine prospect and the refreshing breeze. At about seven o'clock the wind got round, and it grew quite cool. I mounted, and rode about a quarter of an hour in the rain, after which I had a tolerable ride, and got home by nine o'clock. I had taken some letters from the post-office, which were from my sister at New York.

19th. I was considerably fatigued by my jaunt of yesterday, but made out, however, to read something in the course of the day; and in the slow progress which I have made since I came to Braintree I have at length got through the volume of Dr. Priestley upon History and General Policy, which I take to be an excellent work. I shall take as early an opportunity as possible to peruse it again.

20th. I tarried at home this forenoon, in order to write a letter to my sister. In the afternoon I attended at meeting. Went up to Mr. Cranch's after meeting, and pass'd an hour there. I took my leave of them, and went home to prepare for returning to Newbury-Port. I know not that I ever left Braintree with so much regret. I have past my time most agreeably here these five weeks, and have had almost all my nearest connexions and dearest friends about me; but otherwise, almost all the time has been lost to me, and I must return to those pursuits which are to be the support of my future life. In the winter I hope to spend some weeks here, and then I shall endeavour to join the utile dulci.

21st. This morning I left Braintree in company with my brother Tom, who was going to Haverhill; and in order to have company, so great a part of the way, I determined to go there with him. We stopp'd a short time at Cambridge, and I went to Dr. Raud's to take a letter from Miss Newhall, as I had promised her at Commencement. She was gone out, but had left the letter. We dined in Wilmington, and got to Haverhill between seven and eight o'clock. In Woburn, we saw young Bartlett, who had thoughts some time since of opening an office in Braintree, but got discouraged there and finally determined upon Woburn, where, from the appearance of the place, I should doubt somewhat of his succeeding very much; but in the present state of the profession, there can be but little choice of place for a young man.

22d. I went to see Leonard White this forenoon. His father has been unwell for some days past. His complaints are of a lethargic nature, and his habit is such that such disorders must probably prove in the end fatal to him. He now sleeps as much as half his time, and is consequently half dead. I went to see Mrs. Bartlett, and saw Mr. S. Blodget there; his brother Caleb, and young Mr. Breck I met with yesterday on the road from Boston, at the tavern, and they came forward before us. I pass'd the afternoon at Mr. Thaxter's, and the evening at Mr. Shaw's.

23d. I had almost promised Mr. Thaxter to wait till the afternoon; but as there was an appearance of a probability that the weather would be disagreeable, I thought it would be safest to come home before dinner. My brother Tom rode with me about four miles to the ferry. I got to my lodgings between twelve and one. I called at Dr. Kilham's shop, and there received an invitation from Mr. Marquand to dine with him. There was some company there; but persons with whom I had no acquaintance. I called at the office in the afternoon, and returned to Mr. Marquand's to tea. In the evening, I went and delivered to Miss Coats the letter which Miss Newhall left for her, and came home quite early.

24th. I returned, and once more took my seat in the office, but did little this forenoon. Thompson was unwell, and did not attend. I went with Putnam to club at Little's; there were only three of us, Thompson being indisposed, and Stacey out of town. I was this day inform'd that Pickman has lain aside all thoughts of practising law, and has already opened a store in Boston. The determination was rather sudden; for it is but a fortnight since he was sworn into Court at Salem, where he then intended to open an office immediately. But he never was fond of the profession, and while he was studying with us I suspected that he would never do much business as a lawyer.

25th. Mr. Andrews came to town last night, and called to see us at the office this forenoon. They have engaged him to preach here at

Mr. Carey's for six Sundays, and will probably employ him longer still. I returned this day to Bacon's Pleas and Pleadings, which I left when I went to Braintree, but could not proceed with great advantage, as I left my extract book in a small trunk which was to come this day in the stage, but has somehow failed. I shall make some alterations for the future in my plan of study. I shall not confine myself so closely and exclusively to the law; but shall devote some part of the day to studies of a lighter and more entertaining kind.

26th. I went to pay a visit to Mrs. Hooper, but disappointed her by having no news from her son Jo, who is now with Mr. Townsend. Took a long walk quite alone. We have a new boarder at my lodgings; a Mr. Romain, a Frenchman, who came a few days after I went from here last. I have not seen him yet, as he went on a fishing party the day that I came home, and is not yet returned.

27th. Mr. Andrews preached for us this day, and was somewhat longer than usual, to the great *satisfaction* of some people who cannot easily be *contented*. Mr. Spring and Mr. Murray both had a third meeting in the evening; it was occasional at Mr. Murray's, but Mr. Spring is determined henceforth to make a practice of giving a lecture on Sundays, besides one in the evening on Thursdays. As Mr. Carey's parish may now be considered as vacant, an opportunity presents to attract some of those who belong there. The spiritual welfare of the individuals may charitably be supposed the only motive which Mr. Spring will acknowledge, even to himself, but says the Duke de la Rochefoucault, (who was as fully convinced of the depravity of the human heart as Mr. Spring, and who was much better acquainted with it), "*L'esprit est toujours la dupe du cœur*,"—the head is ever the dupe of the heart. And, when the passions assume the form of principle, the disguise will be discovered by every body else sooner than by the man who is directed by them. Mr. Spring's interest will be promoted should he make converts, for his parish is small and poor; his vanity will be flattered, by bringing people over to his opinion; and when in addition to this, his imagination fondly persuades him that his cause is likewise the cause of God, it is not to be wondered that he can reconcile himself to contradictions, and that his practice is openly at variance with his theory, which condemns the use of means for bringing sinners to repentance.

28th. I finished reading Bacon's Pleas and Pleading; but the subject is so knotty that I must at some future period read this over once or twice more. I began a third time upon Blackstone, a book which a lawyer cannot possibly read too much. In the evening, I walk'd into Newbury with Stacey. I have been engaged for some days upon a matter which takes all my leisure time: it is in writing a piece for

the 5th of September. The Society at Cambridge<sup>1</sup> have ordered me to speak on that day ; and I shall obey, if I can possibly attend.

29th. After spending the day as usual, I walk'd with Stacey and Putnam. After going some way into Newbury we return'd and walk'd upon a sort of a terrass in High Street. We there saw a number of young ladies who seemed to expect to be accosted ; and some of whom finally sat down on the grass, perhaps to see if that would not call our attention to them ; but we were really inexorable, notwithstanding Miss Bradbury was there. Indeed it has been observed that Putnam has of late wholly altered his conduct towards her ; and there have been many speculations concerning the cause or the causes of this difference. Some of these young ladies were so much piqued at our apparent neglect of them that they revenged themselves with proper spirit by laughing loud at us as we past by them ; and what punishment could possibly be more severe than the ridicule of a young lady ?

30th. This afternoon Mr. Cutler called at our office, and persuaded me to ride with him up to Mr. Brown's farm, where we found a number of young ladies. The afternoon was tolerably insipid ; we drank tea there, and afterwards escorted the ladies. I rode with Miss Jones, and left her at Captain Fletcher's. I afterwards returned there, but she was already gone. There was a very brilliant northern light in the evening. Mr. Cutler is one of the most complaisant persons with whom I am acquainted. The ladies employ him upon almost every occasion, and yet behave to him in such a manner as does not express a sense of obligations received. They even slight and disregard him for performing those services by which he renders himself useful to them. There are problems in the female character which are not easily solved.

31st. I amuse myself in reading Junius's letters, which, though the factious productions of a partizan, contain many excellent observations upon men and manners. We met this evening at Putnam's. Thompson left us to go to lecture !

Friday, August 1st, 1788.

The day was spent in the usual uninteresting manner. Indeed it may be generally observed that the more advantageously the day is employed for myself, the less I have to say at the close of it. I walk'd in the evening with Stacey, till after nine o'clock.

2d. Mr. Farnham proposed to me this morning to join a party which was formed to go in the afternoon to the grove ; a romantic spot where the young people are fond of visiting. I declined, how-

<sup>1</sup> The Phi Beta Kappa Society.



ever, and they finally gave up the scheme, as they were informed the proprietor of the land had some objections. I have been this week tolerably industrious.

3d. I heard Mr. Andrews preach. About as long as he was last Sunday. I think he is gaining ground in the parish, and am in hopes that he may be finally settled without much opposition; which would greatly disappoint some flaming zealots, who, like all zealots, justify unworthy means by the sanctity of the end. I walk'd in the beginning of the evening with Stacey, and afterwards called at Mrs. Hooper's. Betsey gratified her temper by the most unlimited severity upon a number of young ladies who usually associate together. There appears by her conversation to be some peculiar enmity against them. Her mother always reproves her, and always follows her example. There appears a singular pleasure in observing the trifling and silly conduct of that circle; and thus, throughout society, the follies of one always contribute to the gratification of many others.

4th. Blackstone still furnishes me with employment for my forenoon hours; and I this day took up the fourth volume of Hume's History, which I was reading when I last went from here. This author's manifest partiality in favour of the Stuarts, his unceasing labours to palliate their faults, and his blindness to their crimes, must be overlook'd or forgiven in favor of the great entertainment which he affords. I pass'd the evening with Thompson, at Mr. Carter's. The conversation was not uncommonly interesting, though the old gentleman is always agreeable to me. Betsey Smith of Boston was there, and has been with them for several weeks.

5th. This forenoon a Doctor Young came to our office, for a writ against a number of insurgents. It seems he was a volunteer in the service of government, the winter before last, and, being upon a party against several of them, received a ball in his knee, which has made him a cripple for life. He brought an action against them some time since at Worcester. But his jury were one half of them insurgents, who were for giving him no damages, and the other half thought he should have a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds. They could not agree, upon which he discontinued his action, and is now determined to bring one forward in this county, where he hopes to find a more impartial jury. The cause will, I doubt not, be very interesting, and Mr. Parsons will exert himself. I walk'd in the evening with Stacey.

6th. Putnam went last week to Danvers, and return'd this forenoon. He brought me a letter which came from Townsend enclosing one for Mrs. Hooper. Amory it seems has suddenly determined to open an office in Salem, and has already put his determination into execution. He had concluded to take a trip, either to Georgia or Carolina; but upon being informed that Pickman had altered his scheme, he

thought it would be best to try his fortune first in this part of the country. I went in the evening with Thompson up to Mrs. Atkins's. I told them that Townsend was coming here next week. Becca said she hoped he would make himself welcome by bringing Jo Hooper with him. It was conjectured while Townsend lived in this town that he had a partiality for this lady. He frequented the house very much; and there appears now a coolness in them bordering upon the resentment of disappointment. Mrs. Atkins said that a man must generally be a good judge of his own compositions, and ask'd me if I was of that opinion. I was not, and endeavoured to avoid answering directly; but she would not suffer it; and I was finally obliged to agree to the truth of her observation; protestando to myself that it was only from complaisance to a lady that I agreed, which will always excuse a little self-denying, as Hudibras calls it.

7th. Thompson did not attend this day at the office. Phillips called to see us this afternoon. He has been to Portsmouth, and is now upon his return to Boston. He expects to read law in Mr. Dawes's office. I walk'd into Newbury this evening with Stacey. The evenings grow long to my great regret. At present I can employ the evening from dusk till nine o'clock in walking; and as I am not over fond of visiting, this is the most agreeable, as well as to me the most useful, method of spending my time. I am not upon familiar terms in one house in town; and upon the cold formality of ceremony, with which all my visits must be accompanied, I confess I wish not to be extensively acquainted.

8th. We met this evening at my lodgings, as we have changed the evening in order to accommodate Thompson, who wishes to attend Mr. Spring's lectures. This young fellow, who is possessed of most violent passions, which he with great difficulty can command, and of unbounded ambition, which he conceals perhaps even to himself, has been seduced into that bigoted, illiberal system of religion which, by professing vainly to follow purely the dictates of the Bible, in reality contradicts the whole doctrine of the New Testament, and destroys all the boundaries between good and evil, between right and wrong. But, like all the followers of that sect, his practice is at open variance with his theory. When I observe into what inconsistent absurdities those persons run who make speculative, metaphysical religion a matter of importance, I am fully determined never to puzzle myself in the mazes of religious discussion, to content myself with practising the dictates of God and reason so far as I can judge for myself, and resign myself into the arms of a Being whose tender mercies are over all his works.

9th. Thompson went to see Miss Roberts at Newtown. I cannot read with so much satisfaction for some days past, as I usually do, as my eyes are very troublesome. Walk'd in the evening, but quite alone.

I finished a day or two since my performance for the 5th of next month, and am now very closely engaged in a matter which has been accumulating upon me these two months.

10th. Mr. Kimball supplied the place of Mr. Andrews this day. I observed none of Capt<sup>n</sup> Coombs's family were at meeting, and heard in the afternoon that his daughter Polly had left this world, and I trust for a better, this morning, after an illness of four or five months. In the afternoon I went to Mr. Spring's meeting, and heard a Mr. Story preach there, hammering away in the true stile upon predestination and free-will. None but an atheist, he said, could doubt of the former; and no man that had common sense of the latter. He endeavoured to soften his system as much as possible; hoping thereby, I suppose, that he might be employ'd in the other parish. I walk'd with Stacey and Romain, in the evening. We met Amory, who was returning from Cape Ann, with Miss Fletcher. After he had carried her home, he went at about nine in the evening with Stacey to Ipswich.

11th. Thompson watch'd last evening; in consequence of which he felt not much disposed to study closely this day, and was but little at the office. Walk'd in the evening with Putnam.

12th. I called in the afternoon, for about half an hour, at the office. Attended Miss Coombs's funeral. It was very long. I walk'd with Putnam. As we were returning we accosted Miss Jones and Miss Fletcher, and waited on them home. After which we went to see Townsend, who came in town this forenoon; we past an hour or two there, and afterwards walk'd till between nine and ten. Townsend's cough still hangs upon him; and, although he fancies himself essentially better, his situation appears to me more dangerous than it did four months ago. His spirits however are as brisk and lively as they ever were; and he talks as much as ever, which I believe is rather injurious to him. My time flies from me with the rapidity of a whirlwind, every hour is precious, and every moment unemployed becomes a subject of regret. This afternoon has been lost to me, unless the view of the object before me be turned to some profit; though even that, by showing more forcibly the brevity and uncertainty of life, should rather condemn me for neglecting to improve every minute to the best purposes.

13th. Mrs. Emery, who has been very ill these four or five weeks, died last night, leaving to the wide world two orphan children,<sup>1</sup> who three years ago had the fairest prospects of sharing a fortune of ten

<sup>1</sup> Hannah Tracy Emery (*supra*, p. 45) and Robert Emery. He entered Harvard College, but loss of property compelled him to leave; went to sea; was a ship-master at twenty; lived in Newburyport, Salem and Boston; died August 1, 1841. Rufus Emery, *Genealogical Records of Descendants of John and Anthony Emery*, p. 406.

16th. Dined with Townsend, in company with Mr. Andrews and Thompson. After dinner we took a ride; went down to Mr. N. Tracy's, but he was not at home. On the road we met the Governor, who was coming into town. We went to Mrs. Atkins's. She was in fine spirits and consequently very good company. We were, however, obliged to come away early, as the weather was rather disagreeable. I spent the evening at Mr. Hooper's. Mr. Cutler was there. We stroll'd about, an hour or more, after we came away. The week has

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Henry Lincoln (H. C. 1786), born November 8, 1765, in Hingham; pastor at Falmouth; died May 28, 1857, in Nantucket. Hist. of Hingham, vol. ii. p. 467.

disappeared in a very singular manner, some thing or other has taken me from my studies every day ; and at the close of the week I regret the time lost without being able to repair it. This is not the first time that I have experienced this effect since I came into this town, and I greatly fear it will not be the last.

17th. Mr. Andrews preach'd for us ; this forenoon he was lengthy in his prayer upon the late misfortunes in the several families. In his sermon he likewise touched upon the subject, in recommending to us so to number our days that we might apply our hearts unto wisdom. I past the evening with Townsend. There fell a considerable quantity of rain in the course of the last night and of this day. And it will be very useful, as the fruits of the ground were languishing for want of moisture.

18th. This morning I perceived a deal of stirring in the streets, and was finally informed that the Governor was reviewing the troops of this town ; after which a number of officers and other gentlemen escorted his excellency to Haverhill, where he intends to dine, and then, I suppose, he means to show himself somewhere else. I passed the day at the office, and the evening at home in writing. I intended to have taken my usual exercise ; but upon leaving the office I found it was raining, and it continued all the evening. I amused myself tolerably well at home. I have indeed had for some time past almost as much business to do at my lodgings as at the office ; but I hope to be gradually relieved.

19th. Several of the gentlemen who accompanied the Governor yesterday to Haverhill went on to Salem with him, and did not return till this evening. I was with Townsend.

20th. I was walking with Putnam in one of the streets in town this evening, when we heard a strange noise in a house, and a number of people standing round it. We went up to the window and heard a man exhorting, as they call it, that is calling upon God in every tone of voice, and repeating a number of texts of scripture incoherently huddled together so as to make an unintelligible jumble of nonsense, which they think is a proper method of seeking the Lord.

21st. Upon Stacey's invitation I went with him and Putnam, and two young lads by the name of Greenough, to Mr. Greenleaf's, where we had something like a concert of music. The house was soon filled with people ; it seemed as if there was nobody within five miles that had ever heard the sound of a violin before. Some of the young ladies thought it would be pretty to join with their voices in the music ; and the concert thenceforth became both vocal and instrumental. I was fatigued by ten o'clock and could blow no more ; and finding that Stacey and Putnam had got so much engaged with a lovely songstress, (or one that might be lovely) as shew no prospect of

an intention to quit, I came off, and left them at about eleven o'clock.

22d. We assembled this evening at Thompson's. Mr. Greenleaf called in and past an hour with us. He was apprehensive that we were disgusted with the crowd last evening; but we undeceived him. He talk'd about the war; for he was an officer in our army.

" And little of this great world can he speak  
More than pertains to feats of broils and battle." <sup>1</sup>

Putnam has not yet got over his trick of leaving us to join the young ladies; but this evening he acknowledged he was going to Mr. Frazier's. We likewise walk'd in the evening, and stroll'd about till ten o'clock.

23d. Dined at Thompson's, with Mr. Andrews and Townsend. In the afternoon I took a ride with Little to Haverhill. I endeavoured to persuade him to go with me the week after next to Cambridge; but my labour was in vain. We had a very smart thunder shower while we were on the road, but it was very soon over.

Here this journal very abruptly breaks off. I had long doubted whether the utility attending the method which I have pursued were adequate to the time I have devoted to it. But an indisposition which for two months has prevented me from writing, has finally turned the wavering scale. I will not however immediately drop all memorials of my transactions; but the remainder of this volume will probably contain a space of time as long as that recorded already in more than two vols. and an half.

Wednesday, September 3d. I went over the river with Stacey and Romain upon a shooting party. We had tolerable success. It was very windy; and with a heavy boat and only one oar we had some difficulty to get across the river. Bridge arrived this day in town. I proposed to him to go with me to-morrow; and he has partly promised to accept my proposal. I this evening informed Mrs. Leathers of my intention to change my lodgings.

Thursday, September 4th. Left Newbury-Port this morning with Bridge. We dined at Putnam's in Danvers, very indifferent entertainment. After mistaking our road and going to Winisimet ferry, we finally got to Cambridge a little before nine o'clock. Lodg'd at Bradish's.

Friday, September 5th. The assembly at the anniversary of  $\Phi B K$  was more numerous than I have known it. There were near forty members present, among whom were two from Dartmouth College. Lincoln, who was to have been one of the speakers, obtained leave to be excused on account of ill health. The Governor, happening to be

<sup>1</sup> Othello, Act i. Scene 3.

here with the admiral, and some other officers of the French squadron, now in Boston harbour, honoured us with his presence, as did all the college officers. I spoke the oration which is hereto annexed, after which we retired to the butler's chamber: the French Consul,<sup>1</sup> who had likewise attended, came there to compliment me, &c. After doing what business was necessary, we all went down to Warland's and dined together; and the festive board crowned the enjoyments of friendship.

We separated early in the afternoon, and I went and paid a visit at Dr. Waterhouse's, and at Mr. Williams's. I went to Boston, where Bridge left me; and I took up my brother Tom. We met my classmate Tom Chandler,<sup>2</sup> who just came from Halifax. We got to Braintree between seven and eight o'clock, where I found Mr. Parsons, who pass'd the evening with us, but lodg'd at Mr. Woodward's.

Sunday, September 7th, 1788. The Marquis de Sainneville, commander of the French Squadron now in the harbour, and the Chevalier Maccarty de Martegues, captain of the *Achille*, dined here to-day. Several other officers were detained by the badness of the weather.

Wednesday, September 10th. The Governor, with the captains of the French vessels, the French Consul and some other gentlemen, dined with us.

Friday, September 12th. I left Braintree to return to Newbury-Port. Found Bridge in Boston. Dined at Mr. Smith's. We left Boston at about five o'clock, and rode ten miles to Newhall's tavern, where we lodge.

Saturday, September 12th. Breakfasted in Salem; saw Amory

<sup>1</sup> Le Sieur de L'Etombe was consul for Massachusetts in 1788. July 13, 1798, his exequatur, as Consul General resident in Philadelphia, was revoked by President Adams for infringements of the neutrality of the United States. See John Adams, Works, vol. viii. p. 615; vol. ix. pp. 6, 14, 170; Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, vol. iii. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> "Thomas Chandler of Worcester was nineteen the 11th of last January. His father was formerly one of the most opulent individuals in N. England; but in consequence of his siding with the British in the late war, a large part of it was confiscated; he had fifteen or sixteen children, so that Tom has not the prospect of a very great estate. His disposition is good; he is extremely irascible, but

He carries anger, as the flint bears fire;

a trifle will throw him off his guard, but a moment's recollection, reforms him. In the space of five minutes I have seen him calm, raging, violent and repenting; excepting at such times his temper is easy and contented; his happiness, however, proceeds chiefly from want of thought and reflection. In short, he appears to be influenced so entirely by his passions that I should think him rather an instrument of action than a moral agent." Manuscript diary of J. Q. Adams, March 14, 1787. Chandler was a "merchant" in Worcester, and died there in May, 1804. W. Lincoln, Hist. of Worcester (1862), p. 225.

and Learned. Dined at Ipswich. We got to Newbury-Port at about five. We lodge this night at Mrs. Hooper's.

Sunday, September 13th. I did not sleep a wink the whole night. My nerves are in a very disagreeable state of irritation. I attended meeting all day at Dr. Tucker's, with Bridge. I called in the evening at Mr. N. Carter's and at Mr. Tufts's, to deliver letters. At Mr. Tufts's I saw Mr. Shaw, who I find preached for Mr. Andrews this day. I retired early, and went to bed, but could get no sleep. After laying about three hours, I got up and went over to Dr. Swett, and requested him to supply me with an opiate, which he did; it gradually composed my nerves, and gave me a few hours of sleep.

Saturday, September 20th. I have had three or four sleepless nights this week, and for the little rest I have enjoyed I have been indebted to soporific draughts. I dined this day with Mr. Parsons, with Bridge and with Foster,<sup>1</sup> who took his station in the office on Thursday. This afternoon I mounted a horse and went to Haverhill, where I am determined to spend a few days, and see if I cannot recruit my health. I found H. Lincoln here.

Wednesday, September 24th. Lincoln went yesterday for Hingham; I went with Mr. and Mrs. Shaw to Andover. There was a large company at Mr. Symmes's;<sup>2</sup> and after dinner we had a lecture, the sermon was intolerably long. Singing remarkably good. We got back to Haverhill just after sunset. My brother Charles with Daniel Russell arrived here this evening. Charles obtained leave to come and see me. Mr. Thaxter and his lady pass'd part of the evening here.

Saturday, September 27th. Another tedious, sleepless night. Charles and Russell returned to Cambridge. I dined at Mr. White's, and in the afternoon got a little sleep which greatly refreshed my drooping spirits. Mr. French was here in the evening.

Tuesday, September 30th. The weather was not very favourable; but, as the Court of Common Pleas was to sit this week in Newbury-Port, I concluded to return there. When I got home I found Bridge unwell. Nothing done at Court but preparatory business this day. I retired early to bed.

Wednesday, October 1st, 1788.

"O gentle sleep,  
Nature's soft Nurse, how have I frighted thee  
That thou no more wilt weigh mine eye lids down  
And steep my senses in forgetfulness."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bossenger Foster, classmate of J. Q. Adams; see *supra*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. William Symmes, D.D. (H. C. 1750), pastor at North Andover, 1758-1807. Hurd, *Hist. of Essex County*, pp. 1606, 1607. See *supra*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> H. Henry IV., Act iii. Scene 1.



In the present situation of my health I cannot possibly attend at all to study, and this circumstance with some others has determined me to spend some weeks, perhaps some months, at Braintree. I spoke for a place in the stage which goes to Boston to-morrow. No business of consequence done at Court this day. Pass'd part of the evening at Mr. Jackson's.

Thursday, October 2d. I took my seat in the stage, in company with a lady who came from Portsmouth, and Mr. Vaughan, the brother of the gentlemen with whom I was acquainted in London.<sup>1</sup> It was seven in the evening before we got to Boston. I went to Mr. Smith's; we pass'd part of the evening, and lodged at Dr. Welch's. Lodg'd at Mr. Smith's.

Friday, October 3d. W. Cranch came into Boston with my father, who, coming upon business which will detain him in town this night, gave me an opportunity to get to Braintree. I came home in company with my cousin.

Tuesday, October 7th. Mr. Murray,<sup>2</sup> the preacher who came from England with my father, came this day to pay him a visit, with his lady whom he has lately married. He appears to be a man of an easy temper and an ingenious mind, though not highly improved by learning. His wife is agreeable; though she appears a little tintured with what the French call *le précieux*.

Tuesday, October 14th. My occupations have been very regular, and similar for a week past. Last Thursday night I again experienced a total want of sleep. By the help, however, of medicine and of constant exercise I think I am in a way to recover.

[This portion of the diary here ends abruptly. The last three words of it began a sentence never completed, — "This evening my —." The next page is blank. The three closing entries, those of October 3d, 7th, and 14th, were made at Braintree. Mr. Adams remained there from October 3d to December 8th, riding, tramping the fields and marshes gun in hand, and reading Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," the "Institutes of Justinian," and Foster's "Crown Law." He continued to suffer from insomnia, and the consequent depression of spirits found no alleviation from attendance on church services conducted by Parson Wibird, who, he emphatically declared, "has no feeling." From the ministrations of the Rev. Oliver Everett, of Rochester, father of

<sup>1</sup> In October, 1783, J. Q. Adams visited London with his father; and, in the following summer, when his mother and sister crossed the Atlantic to join John Adams, recently appointed Minister to France, he spent a month in London awaiting their arrival. Letters of Mrs. Adams, (1848) pp. 173, 185, 186; J. Adams, Works, vol. iii. pp. 385-387.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless Rev. John Murray, the Universalist preacher; pastor at Gloucester, Mass. See Appleton, *Cyclopædia of American Biography*; Babson, *Hist. of Gloucester*, pp. 429-439.

Edward Everett, who occasionally exchanged pulpits with Mr. Wibird, he derived more satisfaction. In November John Adams and his wife left Braintree to go to New York, temporarily the seat of the new Federal Government, in which Mr. Adams had been chosen to the office of Vice-President. On the 8th of December J. Q. Adams returned to Newburyport, resuming his studies in the office of Mr. Parsons. His diary was now reduced to daily memoranda of a single line each, and so continued until the following September (1789). The winter of 1788-1789 was passed partly at Newburyport and partly at Braintree, reading, riding, skating, and "hunting for partridges and quails," with occasional social entertainments. Among the law books now read, he noted Barrington's "Observations on the Statutes" and Buller's "Nisi Prius." He became also intimate with the family of Mr. Moses Frazier, of Newburyport, one of whose daughters, Mary, especially attracted him. Rumors of a marriage engagement were in circulation; and, years afterwards, there appeared in a Newburyport paper a highly colored account of the incident, in which Mr. Adams, then ex-President and a man of seventy, was made to declare "that in all which constitutes genuine beauty, loveliness, personal accomplishments, intellectual endowments and perfect purity of life and heart, Miss Mary Frazier excelled" anything he had ever known of "the most attractive and recognized beautiful among the female sex in Europe and America." And he declared that he "loved her then," and loved "her memory" still.<sup>1</sup> The writer of this over-colored and extremely apocryphal narrative then went on to add that J. Q. Adams acknowledged to him an engagement with Miss Frazier, but on the understanding "that should either see cause to change their mind they were left free to do so. The direct cause of the breaking off of the engagement [was] because of the very proper interference and advice of Miss Frazier's family and friends. They charged that Mr. Adams was quite young [twenty-two], without a profession, and with no very good prospects as to the future," etc. And, Mr. Adams is alleged to have added, "In this advice they were about right, for I then certainly had no very flattering prospects, near or remote." The writer then asserted that the tradition in Newburyport was that Miss Frazier remained unmarried until after the news reached her of the marriage of Mr. Adams, in London, in 1797, seven years later. Concerning this episode, Mr. Adams at the time wrote to his mother: "But upon one subject, on which from a passage in your letter I am led to suppose you are under some apprehensions on my account, I think I can safely assure you they may be quieted. You may rest assured, my dear Madam, that I am as resolutely determined never to connect a woman to desperate

<sup>1</sup> Recollections of Newburyport by James Morse, "Newburyport Herald," June 30, 1864.

fortunes, as I am never to be indebted to a woman for wealth. The same spirit, I presume, will operate equally to prevent either of these cases, and you shall never be requested for your consent to a connection of mine, until I am able to support that connection with honor and independence." On the 9th of August, 1789, his friend and fellow student, William Amory, was married to Lucy Fletcher. Meanwhile his own health seems to have been in great degree restored, for he notes numerous meetings of the "club" in which he participated, sociable evenings, "noisy walks" and serenades "till three in the morning." One day they indulge in "an after dinner dance, company small but agreeable"; and, the next, he sees "the ladies' scheme for a sail fall through." Altogether, the student life at Newburyport seems not to have been devoid of attractions. Finally, after one of many evenings passed at Mr. Frazier's, the more detailed diary reopens.]

Newbury-Port, Sunday, September 6th, 1789.

Twelve months have nearly elapsed since I discontinued this journal altogether. Several months of ill health detained me at Braintree, and wholly disqualified me for the use of the pen; after attending the session of the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston in February, I return'd to this town on the 26th day of March, since which my health has been gradually restored, and is now almost as good as it was previous to my sickness. The events which have occurred since I have omitted to record them have not been sufficiently interesting to induce me to regret the loss; but as those which are now immediately before me may be more important, I shall, for a few weeks at least, resume the practice, which sickness at first, and indolence afterwards, led me to disuse.

7th. I have for several months past intended to pay a visit to my friends at New York; and several circumstances concur to render this period the most eligible for that purpose. I left Newbury-Port this morning in company with Mr. Atkins, Parson Andrews, and Tom Hooper who are going to Cambridge to attend the anniversary of the  $\Phi$  B K which was deferr'd from the 5th inst<sup>t</sup> till to-morrow. My intention was to have gone from Boston in the stage, which is to proceed on Wednesday for New York; but on my arrival in town I found the places were all taken up. I then concluded the most expeditious method would be to go from hence to Providence by land, and there take a passage for New York in one of the packets. I found the stage to Providence will go to-morrow morning at four o'clock. Being destitute of cash, I obtained of my friend J. Phillips the loan of a sum sufficient for my journey, for which I drew an order upon Dr. Tufts. I pass'd the evening very agreeably with W. Cranch at Mr. Dawes's,

and between eleven and twelve came to Hatch's tavern, from whence the stage takes its departure.<sup>1</sup>

8th. It was six this morning before the stage started. I had two companions; one a Mr. Wright from North Carolina; the other a young man from Connecticut by the name of Lanman.<sup>2</sup> We were tolerably sociable. Lanman sung a number of songs of his own accord, and sung very well. But, upon being requested by Mr. Wright to continue, he altogether denied that he could sing at all. We breakfasted at Dedham, dined at Attleborough, and arrived at Providence at about six in the evening. We stopped at Daggett's tavern. I walk'd round the town in the evening with Landman. He is young and communicative.

9th. I walked out with Lanman this morning, and went to the College, which consists only of one building,<sup>3</sup> nearly as long as two of the halls at Cambridge. This being a time of vacation the tutors were absent from the College, so that we had not an opportunity of seeing the library; which, however, is very small. The chambers are not, I think, so well arranged, they are certainly not so decent, as those at Cambridge. Mr. John Brown's house<sup>4</sup> is likewise a very conspicuous building. We only saw the outside of it, which is the most magnificent and elegant private mansion that I have ever seen on this continent. The Baptist church<sup>5</sup> in this town is said to be the handsomest house of public worship in America, and there are a large number of very good private houses. The streets appear to be busy, and every thing exhibits evidence that this is a flourishing and thriving town. But the people appear much aggrieved by the proceedings of their government,<sup>6</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Israel Hatch then kept the White Horse Tavern, Newbury Street, as a part of Washington Street was called. It stood a short distance south of the present Adams House. See Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 392, 393.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps James Lanman (Yale College, 1788), of Norwich, Conn., then (1789) twenty years old. He held afterwards numerous important offices; was United States Senator 1819-1825; a supporter of Crawford for the Presidency; a Judge in the Superior Court of Connecticut 1826-1829; mayor of Norwich 1831-1834; died August 7, 1841. Lanman, *Biographical Annals*; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> "University Hall" at Brown; then under the presidency of James Manning.

<sup>4</sup> The proprietor was a prominent and patriotic merchant, who planned and promoted the attack on the British ship "Gaspee" in 1772.

The house passed by inheritance to the Herrisoffs, and then was purchased by Mrs. Elizabeth Gammell. It was lately acquired by Mr. Marsden J. Perry, and is being amply renovated, but the original style is carefully preserved.

<sup>5</sup> A fine church, built in 1775, from the designs of James Gibbs, an English architect, who worked in the style of Wren. The University holds its exercises for Commencement there.

<sup>6</sup> There was much dispute concerning the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. In the preceding year there had been party rancor and some violence. See Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, vol. ii. pp. 541, 547.

for several years past have given the sanction of law to every species of iniquity. Their Supreme Judicial Court are now in session at Providence. I went into Court twice this forenoon; they were doing nothing, and the appearance of the Judges was a perfect burlesque upon justice. At about twelve o'clock we went on board the packet *Leopard*, having for fellow travellers, besides the two gentlemen with whom I came from Boston, a Mr. Goldthwait, a merchant of Newport, whom I formerly saw at the Hague, and a number of women who appear habituated to move in humble stations of life. There was a man with them, who entertained us very highly with singing. He had an inexhaustible fund of songs; but, in the whole collection, there was not one that I ever heard sung before; nor one that was tolerably good. Vulgarity and nonsense were completely united in every one of them. The distance between Providence and Newport is about thirty miles. The usual passage is from five to six hours, but we sailed in a calm, and, after being carried down by the tide and the trifling breezes which arose about half the way, we were obliged to come to anchor in order to avoid drifting backward by means of the tide, which had turned against us. We continued at anchor from seven in the evening to one in the morning; and then again took advantage of the tide, and of a small favourable breeze which came up. The cabin was small; the accommodations not sufficient for the number of passengers; and the beds very indifferent. From a mixture therefore of choice and necessity, I walk'd on deck a great part of the night, and had not slept an hour, when, at six in the morning, we arrived at Newport.

10th. We put up at Townsend's tavern, being near the wharf from whence the New York packets sail. I engaged my passage on board the *Rambler* packet, Captain Peterson, who intends to sail to-morrow. I paid a visit to Mr. W. Ellery,<sup>1</sup> but *Almy* was not at home. I endeavoured to sleep, but found it impossible. Lanman had letters for Mr. Marchant's family;<sup>2</sup> and, soon after dinner called at Townsend's with young Marchant, who gave me an invitation to drink tea with him, and I accordingly went. There was some company. Mr. Marchant himself is gone upon a deputation to New York. His lady was very civil. His two daughters perform very well upon the spinnet, and accompany their performance with very good singing. I spent

<sup>1</sup> William Ellery, father of Mrs. Francis Dana of Cambridge, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of the most influential members of the Congress of the Confederation. Almy Ellery, his daughter, married Hon. William Stedman; see *supra*, p. 14. G. C. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport, R. I.*, pp. 207-216; W. R. Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Henry Marchant, a delegate from Newport to the Congress of the Confederation; very active in securing the adoption of the Constitution of the United States; appointed by President Washington District Judge. W. R. Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, etc.

the afternoon and evening very agreeably, but retired early, being much fatigued after a sleepless night and an active day.

11th. The wind is pleased to postpone our departure at least for one day more. Landman sailed at noon in a small boat for New-London, but returned before night; not being able to proceed further than a point about fifteen miles from this. A packet arrived from New York this day after a passage of twenty-four hours. I was standing upon the wharf when she arrived, and was surprised to see W. Amory<sup>1</sup> step from her. He only stopped to dine, and intends going on as expeditiously as he can to Boston. I took the opportunity to write a letter to Bridge. I pass'd the afternoon at Mr. Marchant's, where I saw a daughter of President Stiles, a lady of great vivacity, entertaining conversation, and agreeable manners, but no beauty. Mr. Goldthwait called upon us, and invited us to take tea with him; he has two daughters, who have no particular attractions of that kind which inspires admiration at first sight. We likewise found there a Mr. Meyer, whom I once saw in Boston about six weeks ago. He is a Philadelphian, but is settled in the commercial line at Cape François. There is a softness in his character, which proceeds perhaps from an affectation of great sensibility. He is apparently very fond of poetry, and is well acquainted with the English poets. His quotations from Milton,

<sup>1</sup> The following is from the diary of J. Q. Adams kept while representing the United States at the Hague between 1794 and 1797. The W. Amory of 1795 cannot be identified positively with the bearer of the same name of six years previous:—

July 14, 1795. "... In the afternoon W. Amory called on me; said he was a prisoner of war to the French army, and was desirous if possible to be liberated; that he had been sick in the hospital near Rotterdam, these ten months, and being now upon the recovery, and having an opportunity to go home, he was very anxious to obtain a discharge. I wrote immediately to the Representative Richard a card, requesting to know when I could speak with him this day. Towards evening his Secretary Brulé called and told me that Richard would be at home the remainder of the day, and would see me at the hour most convenient to myself. I went immediately afterwards, and stated to the Representative the circumstances of Amory's story as he had told them to me, told him that I knew him personally to be an American, and was much acquainted with his family, which is highly respectable. He said that the discharge should be granted without the least difficulty, that it would be given with much pleasure as a compliance with the request of the minister from a friend and ally of France, and if I would send the person to him in the morning with a line mentioning his name, and that he is the person concerning whom I had now spoken, he would immediately give the order necessary for his discharge.

"15. Amory called here again early this morning; I gave him the letter for the Representative Richard, and about an hour afterwards he returned, with an order from him for the discharge with permission to return to America. I then observed to Amory, that it was I supposed meant simply as authorizing him to go home, and it was perhaps expected that he should not go to England. He said he certainly should not, and his only wish was to return to his own country."

Shakespeare and Shenstone are perhaps too frequent; and he introduced them in a company where no person, except Lanman and myself, appeared to have any taste for this kind of literature. His own knowledge of the belles lettres does not appear to extend beyond the English language.

12th. We are still detained by a contrary wind, in a state of expectation and suspense. I went again to Mr. Ellery's, but was again unfortunate, as neither his son nor daughter was at home. I pass'd the afternoon and part of the evening with Lanman, at Mr. Marchant's. A little circumstance took place which gave great offense to Lanman. He was indeed in a greater passion than I should have thought necessary.

13th. The winds are still unfavourable; and I have passed another dull, tedious day here. In the hopes that by some alteration in the course of the day we should be enabled to sail, I did not attend public worship, but remained at my lodgings, and having found a volume of Shakespeare I amused myself as well as I could with it. I took tea at Mr. Goldthwait's, where I again found Mr. Meyer. I went with him to hear a number of young ladies sing. We there saw Miss Ellery, much celebrated for beauty; but I have seen much handsomer women. Landman went this morning from hence to Norwich on horseback.

14th. After a detention of four days the winds at length have become favourable; and at about seven o'clock this morning we sailed from the wharf. The city of Newport appears to advantage from this river; but in itself it exhibits a melancholy picture of declining commerce and population. Previous to the late war it contained about 10,000 inhabitants; they are now reduced to 7,000. Its former prosperity was chiefly owing to its extensive employment in the African slave trade, of which some remnants still continue to support it. The town is large, but many of the houses, and the most elegant of them, are altogether out of repair, and for want of painting make a dismal appearance; the streets are dull, and the wharves appear more frequented by idlers than by men of business. We had fine weather, but little wind; and it was one o'clock afternoon before we reached Point Judith, distant about thirty miles from Newport. The wind freshened, however, in the afternoon, and at midnight, when I retired to bed, we had proceeded more than half the way on our passage. My fellow passengers are Mrs. Wilkins and Miss Winslow, two daughters of Parson Winslow,<sup>1</sup> who formerly lived at Braintree. Doctor *Olipphant*, an old

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Edward Winslow (H. C. 1741), rector of Christ Church in Braintree 1764-1777; compelled to leave the town because he continued to pray for the king according to the promise in his ordination oath; died in New York in 1780, and is buried beneath the altar in St. George's Chapel. C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, pp. 631-633, 852-854.

gentleman who lives at Newport. He has been married, and had two children since he was seventy years old. Mr. Flagg, a gentleman of fortune from South Carolina; he has with him the most elegant phaeton I ever saw. Mr. *Wright*, with whom I came from Boston to Newport, and whom I have already mentioned. Mr. *Stewart*, originally from Maryland, but now an attorney at Halifax. Captain *Dunbar*, an half-pay British officer, also an American by birth, now residing at Quebec. Mr. *Curré*,<sup>1</sup> from Pennsylvania, but a British officer during the war, and now an attorney in the province of New Brunswick. Mr. *Crook*, a young gentleman who practices law at Newport, and Doctor *Berry* (I believe it is) a German, who is now settled at New York. Our packet seems to have two commanders, Captain *Peterson* and Captain *Shaw*, they alternately take the lead, and in concert direct the vessel.

15th. Our wind forsook us at about one o'clock this morning, and this day has been extremely tedious. There was so little wind all day that we scarcely got forward thirty miles from the time we lost our wind till six this evening, when it again breez'd up; and before ten o'clock it blew so violently, and we were in a spot where the sound was so narrow, that we were obliged to come to anchor in the first harbour we could reach. It was very dark; the clouds looked black and squally. We had just done supper, when the German Doctor came down into the cabin very much terrified, and, without any discretion, talk'd in such a manner as was most likely to alarm the ladies. *Curré* immediately called for more brandy, and concluded that the best way to show his own courage was to be extremely profane. He rallied the poor Doctor unmercifully, and mixed with his sarcasms a shocking degree of impiety, which he hinted to us was to give courage to the ladies; at the same time he continued adding to the stock of his artificial bravery until he could no longer maintain the balance of his feet, nor the free use of his tongue. After exhausting all his sacrilegious wit, merely out of tenderness for the ladies, he finally staggered off to bed.

16th. The wind was high all night, but at dawn of day we got again under way. As the morning advanced the wind abated, and we moderately sailed on till we pass'd the rocks at Hell-Gate, just at nine o'clock. The tide had just turned in our favour, so that we lost nothing by anchoring last night, for no vessel pretends to pass this dangerous place against the tide nor in the night. As we came through just at high tide we saw nothing peculiar, except an irregularity in the running of the water; but at low tide, we were informed there are

<sup>1</sup> Ross Curry, a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Loyalists, and adjutant of the corps; received half-pay after the war, and lived and died in New Brunswick. Sabine, *American Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 368.



several eddies and whirlpools which have a formidable appearance. There have been many instances of vessels upset at this place, and others of their being whirl'd round by the violence of the eddy. The name itself of the place is sufficiently indicative of the dangers which sailors have apprehended from it. From this place to the city of New York, the distance is about eight miles; on one side of the river there are a number of islands pleasantly situated, and on the other a number of beautiful country seats, which have a charming prospect upon the river, and afford one no less agreeable to the traveller upon it. I landed at about ten o'clock, and immediately walked out to my father's house; <sup>1</sup> with some difficulty I found it, and feeling very much fatigued, having slept but very little since I left Newport, I went to bed. I could not however get any sleep. The President and his family dined here; but I felt quite unfit for company, and therefore dined alone. Col' Smith and my brother went to the play; I retired very early to bed.

17th. A Captain McPherson, of Philadelphia, breakfasted here this morning. A man of good natural parts; but at present a little disordered in the intellect. He is now employed in publishing his life and works, and the first volume is soon to appear; he had with him this morning one of the first proof sheets, which he shew us. He there professes to be an unlettered philosopher and acknowledges that al-

<sup>1</sup> The house in question was on Richmond Hill, so called, lying between Greenwich Village and the city, being about a mile and a half from Trinity Church and the government buildings on Wall Street. The Houston Street station of the Ninth Avenue Elevated Railway now stands within four blocks of its site. It was built about 1770 by Abraham Mortier, paymaster-general of the royal army, and later was occupied by Aaron Burr at the time of his duel with Hamilton. Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, (1848) pp. 343, 344; Memorial History of New York, vol. ii. p. 464, vol. iii. p. 58; T. E. V. Smith, New York City in 1789.

Mrs. John Adams gives the following description of Richmond Hill in a letter to her sister, Mrs. Shaw, dated September 27, 1789:—

"The house in which we reside is situated upon a hill, the avenue to which is interspersed with forest trees, under which a shrubbery rather too luxuriant and wild has taken shelter, owing to its having been deprived by death, some years since, of its original proprietor who kept it in perfect order. In front of the house, the noble Hudson rolls his majestic waves, bearing upon his bosom innumerable small vessels, which are constantly forwarding the rich products of the neighbouring soil to the busy hand of a more extensive commerce. Beyond the Hudson rises to our view the fertile country of the Jerseys, covered with a golden harvest, and pouring forth plenty like the cornucopiæ of Ceres. On the right hand, an extensive plain presents us with a view of fields covered with verdure and pastures full of cattle. On the left, the city opens upon us, intercepted only by clumps of trees and some rising ground, which serves to heighten the beauty of the scene by appearing to conceal a part. In the back ground, is a large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge and some very handsome trees. On one side of it, a grove of pines and oaks fit for contemplation."

though he has written upon every science excepting *Law*, yet he was never regularly taught any one. He seems indeed to be ignorant of all the rules which have been form'd for the improvement of the sciences; among his productions are four plays, which he highly values. One of them, entitled *The artful mother ganders, or the real humours of a rookery*, he describes as the deepest tragedy that ever was written. He is indeed in his own opinion an universal genius, and has made many improvements and discoveries in diverse arts and sciences. I attended this morning in the gallery of the House of Representatives, to hear the debates. They were upon the judiciary bill. Mr. Gerry, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Stone, Mr. Lee, Mr. Maddison and Mr. Benson all took a part in this debate. But I confess I did not perceive any extraordinary powers of oratory displayed by any of these gentlemen. The subject had been already so much discussed that little could be said of further importance. The eloquence had all been exhausted, but the spirit of contention still remained.

18th. I attended again this day in the galleries of the House. The principal debate was upon the salaries of the Judges. The subject was not very interesting; but, like almost every other subject, exhibited the difficulty of adjusting the opposing sentiments which direct the conduct of men living in different climates and used to very different modes of living. Mr. *Dobbyn*, an Irish gentleman who arrived in the last English packet, dined with us this day. In consequence of unmerited misfortunes he was obliged to sell a patrimonial estate which had been six hundred years in the family; and he determined to bring the remainder, amounting to about £6000 sterling, and settle in some part of America. Mr. T. Morris, a son of the Senator from Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> likewise dined with us; he is studying law in this city.

Mr. Adams remained in New York throughout the month of September, attending the sessions of Congress and the receptions of the President and going to the theatre. On the 5th of October he started for Boston, leaving New York for Newport at 5 P. M. He reached Newport the next day, the 6th, at three o'clock in the afternoon. It took him the whole of the next day to go from there to Providence. Thence he took the stage to Boston, arriving at dusk on the evening of the 8th. He then returned to Newburyport. The following letter to his mother was written two months later; it appears

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Robert Morris, known as "the Financier of the Revolution." His son Thomas, here mentioned, was subsequently a member of the New York bar, and at one time United States Marshal for the southern district of the State of New York.

to have been the first communication from him after he left New York:—

NEWBURY-PORT, December 5th, 1789.

. . . Two and twenty hours after I left you at Richmond-Hill, I landed at Newport, and the Thursday following arrived in Boston. I pass'd two or three days at Braintree; quite sick of what I then thought only a severe cold. I have since been induced to suppose it was the influenza. This disorder has since then been almost universal in this State; and I have been upbraided for singularity in enjoying good health while all the world were more or less diseased. It has not however been fatal in any instance that has come to my knowledge in this neighbourhood. When I say I have enjoyed good health, it must be understood, as they say, with a grain of salt. The ancient quarrel between the powers of drowsiness and me has threatened to break out again; and a few nervous twitches have hinted to me the propriety of suffering no intermission in the article of exercise. I have scarcely been out of Newbury-Port since my return from New-York; but I intend next week to spend a day or two at Haverhill.

I was not one of the choir who welcomed the President to New England's shore, upon his arrival here by land. I was, however, in the procession, which was formed here to receive him, in humble imitation of the capital. And, when he left us, I was one of the respectable citizens (as our newspapers term them) who escorted him on horseback to the lines of New-Hampshire.

You, my dear madam, have abundant reason to know that your eldest son is not by any means destitute of that bubbling passion called Vanity; and therefore you will excuse him, and allow a little parental indulgence, when he informs you of the petty honours which accrued to him in consequence of this same visit of the President; and you will make all the necessary allowances if he states facts, which are really true, in such a manner as shall exhibit him in the most advantageous light — and thus I begin.

I had the honour of paying my respects to the President upon his arrival in this town, and he did me the honour to recollect that he had seen me a short time before at New York. I had the honour of spending part of the evening in his presence at Mr. Jackson's. I had the honour of breakfasting in the same room with him the next morning at Mr. Dalton's. I had the honour of writing the billet which the major general of the county sent him to inform him of the military arrangements he had made for his reception. And I had the honour of draughting an address which, with many alterations and additions (commonly called amendments), was presented to him by the town of Newbury-Port. So you see

"I bear my blushing honours thick upon me."

But as half the truth is oftentimes a great falsehood I am constrained to account for these distinctions in a manner which I must honestly confess defalcates considerably from the quantum of my importance. To the peculiar civility of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Dalton, I am indebted for having been thus admitted into the company of the President. One of the major general's aid de camps is my fellow student; he was then much hurried with other business relating to the same occasion, and, at his request, I wrote the billet. Mr. Parsons was chosen by the town to draught the address; and his indolence was accomodated in shifting a part of the burthen upon his clerk, so that all my dignities have not been sufficient to elevate me above the insignificant station of a school-boy; in which character I still remain, your dutiful son.<sup>1</sup> But to turn from trifling to a subject to me very serious, I must observe that my own reflections upon the subject of the place of my future residence are daily becoming more and more perplexing. You well know the objections which I have against Braintree, and I may safely appeal to your judgment for their validity. My father's determined predilection is the only circumstance that could give that place any claim to fixing me, under the present relative situation of my cousin Cranch and me. Boston is strongly recommended to me by several of my friends, whose opinions in favour of the capital are much more favourable than my own. Greater necessary expence, more necessary dissipation, and a more numerous competition for the favours of employment, are not circumstances calculated to decide my preference. This town, while inhabited by the two most eminent barristers in the county and an attorney, who though young is much respected, does not offer me a prospect in any manner alluring; though I sh[ould] here enjoy the advantage of being more extensively known than in any [other town] of the Commonwealth. However, I will postpone the full discussion of [this subject] till the appointment of our two Judges shall take place; after which I shall state my case fully to my father, and found my determination upon his final opinion. . . .

Your affectionate Son,

J. Q. ADAMS.

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that the part of Theophilus Parsons in the preparation and presentation of this address has been, in the course of time, entirely lost sight of, and the histories of Newburyport attribute it without reservation to J. Q. Adams. See Carrier, "Ould Newbury," p. 556; E. V. Smith, *Hist. of Newburyport*, pp. 133, 324, 325; Joshua Coffin, *Hist. of Newbury*, p. 264.

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